

THE
APOLOGIES
OF
JUSTIN MARTYR, TERTULLIAN,
and MINUCIUS FELIX,
In Defence of the
Christian Religion,
WITH THE
COMMONITOY
OF
Vincentius Lirinensis,
Concerning the
Primitive RULE of FAITH,
Translated from their Originals:
With NOTES, for the Advantage chiefly of
English Readers, and a PRELIMINARY
DISCOURSE upon each Author.
Together with
A PREFATORY DISSERTATION about
the Right USE of the FATHERS.

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Vol. II.

*Tu scito nobis nihil esse antiquius quam Christi jura servare, nec Patronum
transferre terminos.* Hieronym. Epis. 68. ad Theo.

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ERRATA.

P^Age 137. l. 4. in Notis, for *Demoniacks*, read *Demoniacks*.
Pag. 139. l. 2. in Not. f. *as well*, r. *as well as*.
Pag. 175. l. 13. f. *Balade*, r. *Balad*.
Pag. 310. l. 8. f. *Simulation*, r. *Similation*.

The Third Sheet wrong Pag'd.

A

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION
TO THE
OCTAVIUS
OF
MINUCIUS FELIX.

FROM the *Wildes* of *Africk*, come we now into the Gardens of *Italy*; from the Ruggednesses of *Tertullian*, into the Plains of *Minucius*, enrich'd with all the Delicacies of an easy and flowing Eloquence. For these two *Apologists*, tho' they differ not in Countrey, and very little in Time, yet are they very much different in Dress, or in their Mode of Diction. In *Tertullian*, you see the Air of *Carthage* almost in ev'ry Particle, a vast stock of Science of all sorts, with a mighty Weight of Argument, and a very plentiful Vein of Salt and Poignancy, that runs thro', and highly Seasons all his Discourses. But tho' the *Ore* is very valuable, and worth digging for, yet is it extremely hard to come at; the Treasure is guarded about with a most formidable Stile, and Men care not for Conversing much upon hard Terms, where they can't do it without the trouble of an Interpreter.

B

But

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But now in *Minucius*, pure Gold lies just upon the Surface; you find an extensive Genius at work, with all the Advantages of Politeness as well as Literature; an agreeable infusion of Wit and Argument in the most pleasing Vehicle; for he wants not *Tertullian's* Strength, and out-does him much in beauty and easiness of Expression. The Sweetness of his Stile, and the grateful Bitterness of his Satyr, like the happy Temperament in Arch-Bishop *Tillotson's* Writings, seem to be no ill Comment upon his Nature, but speak him Good and Gracious, Frank and Affable, a great Master of Address, and perfectly well skill'd in the Art of Persuasion; for his hard Arguments, and soft Tongue, in *Solomon's* Phrase, *break the Bone*, and insinuate like Oyl: He Reasons severely, and Rallies delightfully, and Cuts and Cures with a gentle Hand. In a word, he was a most able Advocate, and the Christian Cause cou'd hardly fall into better Hands; for he seems made to Charm his Reader, and to carry him where he pleases. The Correctness and Beauty of his Language, I take to be much owing to his Profession; by Conversing at *Rome*, and Pleading at the Bar, he in a great measure wore off the Asperities of the *African* Dialect, and polish'd up his strange Tongue to the Purity and Standard of the *Latin* Idiom.

In the Structure of this Dialogue, the Design and Order are extremely Beautiful and Taking, and speak a Master-builder; for in the very entrance, he insensibly lays hold upon our Passions with such bewitching words in the Character of his beloved *Olivarius*, and leads on to the occasion of the Conference with such awaking Descriptions, and sets off the minutest Matters with such surprising Imbellishments, that he has in a manner got our Hearts, before he comes to open his Cause. Had the Substance of this Conference been thrown into a single solitary Relation, the Discourse had not been half so lively or affecting; but now in the Dialogue, we our selves seem to be present at the Debate, our Passions

Passions are engag'd, and all intent upon the issue of the Battel, we see, and hear, and sympathize all the way, and at length bear part in the Triumph, at the Conversion of a Sinner.

Cæcilius called *Natalis*, and *Oætavius*, who goes also by the Name of *Januarius*, are the two Disputants in the Dialogue, the first a *Heathen*, the other a *Christian*; between whom, our *Minucius Felix Marcus* fits as *Moderator*. The most probable Conjecture; and not obscurely hinted at in the Text is, that they were all three ^a *Africans*; and whoever compares *Tertullian*, *St. Cyprian*, and *Arnobius*, with this of *Minucius*, will find the Tang and *Shibboleth* of *Africk* to be more or less a distinguishing Character in them all; so fruitful has *Africk* been, (the noted Mother of Prodigies) in the Production of extraordinary Defenders of the Faith. The *Triumvirat* in this grand Affair of Religion had been all *Heathens*, and all profoundly practic'd in the *Heathen* impurities. *Oætavius*, and *Minucius* were both ^b Lawyers, and had let out their Tongues in the Patronage of the vilest ^c Causes, and had both persecuted the *Christians* to the utmost power of a malicious Eloquence. They had been sworn Brothers in iniquity, and by their own confession taken a long run in ^d Amours, in the Intreagues and Gallantries of the Age. *Oætavius*'s Eyes were the first opened, but like a true *Christian* Friend, he cou'd not be content to enjoy the Divine Light alone, and see his *Minucius*, his other half, lye in Darkness, and the shadow of Death: They had, it seems, been lovely and pleasant in their former lives, and their love was wonderful, passing the love of Women; nor were they divided in their Death, either as that implies a Death unto Sin, and a new Birth unto Righteousness; or a real Death by the divorce of Soul and Body; for *Oætavius* was no sooner enlighten'd, but

^a Sect. 9. N. 4.
^b Sect. 28.

^c Sect. 1.
^d Sect. 2. N. 2.

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he hastens with the glad Tidings to his *Minucius*; and *Minucius* on the other hand well knew that his *second Self*, his dear *Olavius*, cou'd have no Design upon him but his Happiness; and such an assurance, no doubt, fully prepar'd his Mind for the impressions of Reason; for words from the Mouth of such a Friend, drop like Honey from the Honey-comb; when, from the Mouth of *Micaiah*, or a Prophet whom we hate, Truth it self becomes unacceptable. We are now then to look upon this blessed Pair as one in Religion, as well as Friendship; and their Christianity, we may well conclude, made no Abatements in Friendship, but only refin'd their Love, and made the Passion burn the Purer. Accordingly, we find these two heavenly Friends congratulating each other upon their new Life, and with all their Oratory, seeming to want words for the Joy. They look back upon the past pleasures of Sin with distaste, shame, and sorrow, and can relish nothing for the future, but the severities of the Christian Religion; the Transports they now express, are like those of poor Wretches in sight of Land after a fruitless and tempestuous Voyage; they are now in the Haven where they wou'd be; they both turn Advocates for the Faith; and Racks and Tortures they overlook with Triumph; and without any other retaining Fee, but the prospect of a Happiness beyond the Grave, the two Lawyers strenuously maintain and plead the Cause of the Crucify'd *Jesus*.

The coming over of two such Advocates, gave a new Accession of Lustre to the Christian Party, and help'd to take off from that popular Objection of Poverty and Ignorance, so perpetually urg'd against 'em; and therefore *Arnobius*, in a kind of Insult, lets the Heathen know, that *Orators* and *Lawyers* of the first Magnitude had embraced the Doctrine of the Cross; and that he had his Eye upon our *Minucius* in this *Encomium*, is

no improbable Conjecture. *Olavus* and *Minucius* seem now to be under no want but to reduce their straggling Friend, and make *Cecilius* as happy as themselves.

But this was a Work of Difficulty, and seem'd to call for the last efforts of Reason and Friendship; for he was a Man of *Latitude*, and therefore hardly to be come at with Argument; he was his own Idol, and had no Religion but to serve himself; he was loud, empty, and inconsistent, and in a word, a swaggering Atheistical Wit; for one while we find him for neither Gods nor Providence, and then again for both; for all the Gods in vogue, all the World over; a mighty stickler for *implicit Faith*, and *blind Devotion*, for *Antiquity*, *Universality*, and *Temporal Success* and *Felicity*, as Demonstrations of the Truth of the *Roman Heathenism*; the very Three Notes, according to *Bellarmino*, of the Truth of the present *Roman Church*. And to compleat his Character, he had imbibed Philosophy enough to raise his Vanity, and corrupt his Mind; enough only to intoxicate his Head with Conceit, and to set him at the greatest distance from the reach of Argument. But notwithstanding this seemingly inaccessible temper of Mind, we find *Cecilius* at length by the Grace of God and good words, a glorious Convert; and in all probability, the Converter of the Great St. *Cyprian*; for a farther Account of which I refer to Section the first, and Note the 3d in the following Treatise.

Olavus departed this Life first, and as I said before, in this Death also they were not divided; for *Minucius* pursues him beyond the Grave, and in his Mind goes along with him into the other World; he raises him again as it were by the Powers of Gratitude, and is never well without him in his thoughts; he blesses God for his Example, and keeps his good Instructions alive upon his Soul, and digests 'em into Spiritual Nourishment; and in short, reads us an admirable Lecture on a Primitive Duty, much out of Fashion and Repute at

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present, and that is, what acknowledgments we ought to make to God in particular for the Example and Benefactions of departed Friends.

We are now then to look upon this as a real Dialogue, which our *Minucius* inscribes *Ostavius* in honour of his departed Friend of the same Name, and as the sum of that Conference they held together at the Conversion of *Cecilius*. It was evidently thus put together by *Minucius* after the ⁸ Death of *Ostavius*; but to go about to assign the distance between the Conference, and the Composing this Dialogue, wou'd be rather to Divine, than to Conjecture: For the very Time in which our *Minucius* liv'd is much Controverted, and we have very little from the *Ancients* to help us out in the matter. The Learned *Baldwin* in his Dissertation before this *Author*, places him below the middle of the third Century, between St. *Cyprian* and *Lactantius*, about the Reigns of *Decius* or *Valerianus*; and his reason for so doing is grounded upon St. *Jerome's* Apology against *Jovinian*, Ep. L. c. iv. p. 106. where he is placed in this order. But then 'tis to be remember'd, that St. *Jerome* sets him before St. *Cyprian* not only in his Epistle, lxxxiv. p. 328. where he does not persue the order of Time, but even in his Catalogue where he does, vid. *Hieron. de Script. Eccles.* c. lxviii. Edit. Par. Here, I say, our *Minucius* is placed among the *Writers* who liv'd about the Reign of *Severus*, immediately before that *Caius* so much celebrated for his Dispute with *Proclus* the *Montanist*, under *Antoninus Caracalla*. The Learned *Du Pin* ranges him in the beginning of the third Century, and our no less Learned Dr. *Cave*, in his Chronological Table of the first three Centuries, places him in the Year 207. tho' in his *Hist. Liter.* Part i. p. 66. he sets him lower, to the Year 220. and others put him under the Reign of *Alexander*; but *Baronius*

^f See more upon this Head, *Sect. I. N. I.*

^g *Sect. I. N. I.*

places him about the end of *Severus*, Ann. 211. and in my opinion not without Reason; for he is favour'd by the order of Time in St. Jerome; he observes moreover, that the Christians look just with the same sad Face of Affliction in this Dialogue, as in the Apology of *Tertullian*; that the Persecution was still on foot, or rather fresh started, and that this therefore must needs be the Persecution of *Severus*; for when *Cecilius* upbraids the Christians for having neither ^b Church nor Altar, *Octavius* does not go about to deny the Charge, but now in the time of *Alexander*, 'tis well known that the Christians had publick places of Worship, which were afterwards Demolish'd by *Maximin* about the Year 235. nor does it look probable, that *Cecilius* wou'd call the Christians in the Reign of *Alexander*, a parcel of Tatterdemalion, Ragged, Starv'd ⁱ Scoundrels, because *Alexander's* Palace swarm'd with Christians; and his Mother *Mammæa* was concluded a Christian, having given good Reason for such a suspicion at least, by sending her Guard for *Origen* to conduct him to *Antioch*, where he continued for some time, and instructed her fully in the Christian Doctrine, vid. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 21. p. 223. lib. vi. c. 28.* And thus much for the Time in which our *Minucius Felix Marcus* liv'd.

In the next place I think it proper, for the greater ease and Entertainment of the English Reader, to lay before him a summary of the whole. *Cecilius the Heathen* begins first in Commendation of *Scepticism*, and what he wants in Science makes up with Confidence. He grows angry, and talks himself stark Mad in a Moment, and then, according to custom, vents his Passion in calling Names; he fwears it is insufferable, that after the greatest Philosophers have been quite jaded in the pursuit of Truth, a company of blockheaded Chri-

^b Vid. Sect. 10. And the Notes upon the place.
ⁱ Sect. 8.

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ftians forsooth, shou'd set up to be wiser than all before 'em. He discards all certainty, and yet positive is he, that there is neither God nor Providence, and then gives us a Tast of his Philosophy, and tells how to make a World with *Epicurean Atoms*, with as much Assurance as if he himself had made it; and goes on to insult a Providence from the common Topicks of suffering Innocence, and other seeming Flaws and Incongruities in the present System. Thus Reeling to and fro for a while, like a Man drunk in his Intellectuals, at length he turns quite over to the other extreme, and from a *Sceptick*, or moderate *Atheist*, commences a violent *Bigor* for all the Superstitious ways of Worship all the World over; he sets up for Apparitions, Oracles, Auguries, Omens, Soothsayings, and the very fictions of the Poets; and in the strict Observations of these things, he finds the rise, progress, and completion of the *Roman Grandeur*.

In his Judgment, 'tis the wiser way by much to go on in the Track of our Fore-fathers without Reflection, and trouble our Heads no farther about Religion; but if we must needs be religious, his Maxim then is, to be of the Religion that is uppermost, to make sure of sleeping in a whole skin, and not play the fool and let our Consciences do us a mischief. But as the Superstitious Fit grows hotter upon him, he puts on fresh Whippcord to his Satyr, and with all his Zeal lays on the *Diagoras's*, *Protagoras's*, Atheists and Scepticks, and brands them as the Bane of all Society, and a Nusance to the World.

Afterwards, he attacks the Christian Religion in particular, and the *Christians* too at first went by the Name of the *Atheists*, whom he moreover calls a pack of *Il-literate, Poor, Sneaking, Pale-faced, White-liver'd Rascals*, confederated in the Night by inhuman Rites and Sacrifices, sculking about in Holes, without a word to say for themselves in publick, and yet perpetually canting in corners about a Resurrection, and the Joys

of another World ; a starv'd ragged Tribe, and the most contentedst, saddest look'd Fellows that Eyes ever beheld. And what (says he) can be more provoking, than to hear these *Kaxodaiques*, or *Poor Devils*, always pitying the *Heathen* in their Purple and Prosperity, and in spite of all our Charity and Temptations, to see 'em obstinately starve and suffer on with pleasure for the Worship of their one God ? The strangest compound certainly of Ignorance and Fool-hardiness that was ever put together ! for they make a perfect jest of our Racks and Tortures, careless of Life and Fortune, and every worldly Comfort, and all for a Fool's Paradise in Reversion, for a Life to come, forsooth, after Death.

After this, he runs raving on at the amazing growth of the *Christian Sect*; charges 'em with private Marks of Distinction; for extravagant Charity and Passion to one another upon little or no acquaintance; for the endearing titles of *Brethren*; for the Worship of an Ass's Head, and the *Genitalia* of the Bishop; for the worship of Crosses and a Crucify'd Malefactor; for eating in the Sacrament an Infant cover'd over with Meal; and for the most unclean Practices at their Love-Feasts. He upbraids 'em for having neither Temple, Altar or Image; he ridicules the notion of One God, such a God as was never worship'd by any Nation, but that wretched one of the *Jews*, and worship'd by them too with Temple, Altar, Sacrifices, and Ceremonies; and that this one God, with all his worshippers, was taken and led away Captive by the *Romans*, by the help of the *Roman Deities*. Then he argues against the possibility of one God's taking care of every thing, and blasphemeth such an over-curious Being, as intolerably impertinent. He makes merry with the Doctrine of the general Conflagration, and stands up for the eternal duration of the Universe. He spends a deal of his Artillery against the Resurrection of the Body, and banters Heaven and Hell as a mere blind only, and the

Dream

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Dream of Poets ; and all this by the help of Destiny ; for he supposes Man a necessary Agent, and then concludes him unaccountable. He inquires into the present Circumstances of Christians, and finds 'em in *this Life to be of all Men most miserable*, which in his judgment is Demonstration enough, that the God of Christians either will not or cannot relieve his Servants, and consequently, that he is either malicious or Impotent. Whereas the Romans, who bid defiance to the God of Christians, Lord it over the World, and take their swill in all the pleasures of it ; while the Christians, poor Rogues, mope about in dismal plight, despis'd and persecuted by all, and are their own Persecutors too into the bargain : for they are sworn Enemies to their own Flesh and Blood, to all the Pomp, Plays, Pleasures, and *joyful* Doings of the World ; they'll be hang'd sooner than come into our Temples, or touch our Sacrifices, or be feen at our Feasts and Theaters, or so much as wear a Garland of Flowers upon their Heads. For shame then (concludes *Cecilius*) forbear to be such religious suffering Coxcombs any longer ; take down your Affections and Eyes from above, and employ 'em about your Feet and the World before you ; fit down contentedly with your sorry pit-tance of Learning, and confess your utter Ignorance in Divine Matters, as being quite out of your Element, according to the Example of the Great Socrates, and the most knowing Sages of old ; take my word for it, and 'tis a choice good Maxim, that 'tis the wisest way by much, without more ado, to leave things just as we find 'em, for fear of unsettling, and introducing either Superstition or Atheism to the Ruin of the State.

Thus the Heathen *Cecilius* ; and in him you see the Principles of a Libertine, and a Man of Interest ; you see in him a mighty pretence to Argument, a world of Smoak and Darkness, Noise and Confidence, Passion and Inconsistency in all his Reasonings. You see likewise the dreadful Discouragements the Christian Religion

gion at first lay under from Persecution and Calumny, and how hard it was for Flesh and Blood to enter into the Kingdom of God, or embrace the Gospel. Had the same Discouragements continu'd on, and Christianity been still on the suffering side, perpetual misery had been too mighty a Temptation to infidelity; but the Doctrine of the Cross being so worthy of God in it self, and put into the Hands of such weak Instruments, who suffer'd so long and so much, and thereby gave greater and more publick proofs of their sincerity, and for some Ages Triumphing over the Heathen Gods, the Devils then worship'd as such, till they had quite routed the Kingdom of Darkness, and then at length bringing over the Civil Powers to the Religion of the Crucify'd *Jesus*, and all this only by Meekness, Miracle, and Non-Resistance, these, I say, are Demonstrations of that Almighty Wisdom, that *bath made every thing beautiful in his time*, and which put it almost out of the Power of After-Ages to suspect Christianity for a Cheat; it never being the way of an Impostor to deal so much or so long in the Light, and upon such Politicks, as humanly speaking, are never likely to succeed. And therefore, after so much Expence and Plenty of Evidence, after all this miraculous Suffering and Success, to disbelieve on still, makes the Case of *Modern Infidels* more intolerable than that of *Heathens*, who had such terrible Arguments to Flesh and Blood, as Poverty and Persecution, Racks and Tortures, to plead for their not being *Christians*.

One thing here indeed is too remarkable to be past over in silence, and it is this, that *Cecilius*, after all his raking into Dirt to make up his load of Calumny, should forget to put in *Rebel* into that foul-mouth'd Catalogue of ill Names he throws at *Christians*. Adultery, Incest, Murder, and eating of Children, he charges roundly upon the *Faithful*; but this *new Sect* was so scandalously *Passe* at the first, such notorious *Non-Resistance-Men*, such strict Followers of that *Just One*,

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One, whom St. James so emphatically says, ye have condemned and killed, and he doth not resist you, that this Heathen thought it more advisable to blacken 'em with any thing than Rebellion. Hence also we may learn Patience under the most provoking Accusations, and to get the better of Calumny by the Primitive Art of living our selves into Reputation; and that if Non-Resistance be an Error, we are encompass'd with a cloud of Witnesses for the same Doctrine, and may be sure we err in good Company, and that it is but a beautiful frailty at the worst, and such a one as God will graciously interpret to our exceeding Reward, it being an Error so very like Truth, that the noble Army of *Martyrs* made the same mistake; and it being certain also that the mistake is not wilful, because no Man wou'd wilfully chuse to suffer, did he think he might go to Heaven as surely upon much easier Terms.

When *Cecilius* had finish'd his Harangue, he Plumes himself upon his Performance, as unanswerable, and with an Air of Triumph, what (says he) can this beggerly Baker of a Philosopher, this Gentleman of *Plautu's* Tribe, reply to my Arguments? And thus he begins and ends with great uniformity in giving ill words for Reasons.

Here our *Minucius* the *Moderator* interposes; gently, fair and softly, good *Cecilius*, stay and hear what *Otavius* has to say, before you insult him at this rate. After a Complement or two pass'd upon *Cecilius* for his mighty Command of Words, and a friendly insinuation of his Dexterity at Shuffling and Evasion, he makes this just Remark upon the way of Disputants in general, that they make it their busines to perplex and puzzle a Cause, and shew much more concern for Victory, than Truth. But not to spend more time in Reflections of this kind, *Otavius* the Christian stands ready with an Answer, and pray without more ado let's hear what he has to say in defence of his Religion.

Otavius

Odavius at his first setting out, takes notice of the rambling inconsistency throughout this whole Discourse, and of the strange Union of extremes, of Atheism and Superstition in one and the same Person. But this, (says he) I will not charge upon my *Cecilius* as Artifice and Cunning, such slippery dealing being no ways agreeable to the frankness and ingenuity of his Temper; but it fares with him, as with a bewilder'd Traveller, who when he comes to several Paths, stands in suspense, not daring to chuse any, nor yet able to follow all. Afterwards he takes to pieces, and examines all his Reasonings in particular; he lets him know first, how weak and unbecoming a Man of Sense it is, to be in such a terrible Passion with *Christians*, meerly for the want of Riches and Literature; that in all disquisitions about Truth, 'tis not the Authority or Weight of the Disputant, but of his Arguments, that is the Point to be minded, for the more plain and unadorn'd a Discourse, the greater Air it hath of Truth. He readily grants to *Cecilius*, that 'tis every Man's duty to keep his Thoughts more at home upon the study of himself, and to be sensible of his own Mediocrity; but then he argues that we cannot come to a right knowledge of our selves, without knowing our Maker; for abstracting Man from his Relation to God, and another World, he is one of the oddest and most unhappy Animals in Nature; either prey'd upon continually with vain Fears, or flatter'd with vain hopes about a Life to come, when there is no such thing. He then proves a God and a Providence from that admirable Beauty and Contexture which comes out and meets our Eye in every part of the Universe, from the harmony of the Seasons, from the make of every Creature, and of Man especially. He goes on to prove that there can be but one God, and that he must be invisible to our Eyes of Flesh, as being a pure Spirit, and that being Infinite, he cannot be comprehensible by any thing but his infinite Self only. That Mankind naturally know him, and when

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the Vulgar lift up their Hands to Heaven, and cry out, *the Great God, the true God, and if it shall please God,* 'tis pure Instinct, and the Voice of Nature declaring for the Unity of that God which is the God of *Christians.* He then runs over the Opinions of the Philosophers, and shews, that the most celebrated of them all concur in the notion of one Supreme Deity, tho' under different Denominations. After this, he demonstrates the Antiquity of the *Heathen Fables* to be no Ground for their Credibility, and that they have not the least shadow of Truth, either from Reason or Testimony, but are in themselves wickedly impertinent and ridiculous, and that a Man must be void of common Sense, as well as Shame, to entertain and credit 'em. Then he taxes the Poets for giving Life and Reputation to such horrid Absurdities, by instilling 'em into the Minds of unwary Youth, by inflaming their Lusts with the intrigues and stories of lustful Deities, and by taking possession of their Hearts with the Melody and Magick of enchanting Verse. He proves likewise, that the Foundations of the *Roman Empire* were not laid in Religion, but in Parricide, Rapes, and Perfidiousness, and grew up to its present Bulk by the same Arts of Injustice, Violence, and Sacrilege. That their Generals frequently made a Jest of Auguries, Omens, and other Sacred Ceremonies, and yet were victorious in spite of their Irreligion. That their Oracles were most often false, and always ambiguous, and the Demons had bad luck indeed, shou'd they never chance to hit right once after so many random Conjectures. That these Demons are unclean Spirits, and being alienated from God, make it their whole employment by such Superstitions to estrange Mankind also from him. That these likewise are the wicked Spirits that lie sculking about in your Statues, and in the Entrails of Beasts, and dispose the Lots and the Flight of Birds, and play such mad pranks in the Bodies they possess; but by us adjur'd in the Name of our God; they quit their

their Possessions with howling Agonies; they cannot stand our bare words, but fly away in such horrid confusion, as if it were Hell to them to hear us speak.

After this, he lays open their Injustice and Barbarity for accusing *Christians* of Incest, Murder, and every Abomination, and yet never concerning themselves about the Truth of these Articles, but Tormenting and Racking the accused only to renounce their Religion. He lets them know likewise, that the *Christians* are Men of more Sense than to Worship the Head of an Ass; and of much purer Morals, than to commit the least uncleanness in their Feasts and Sacred Mysteries; and that such Accusations were too monstrous to find any Credit in the World, did not the Accusers, by their own Actions, prove 'em practicable. That for *Christians*, they neither worship'd a Malefactor, nor a Man; well knowing, that a Criminal cannot deserve Divine Honour, nor a meer Man be possibly a God. And for *Crosses*, they neither worship'd nor wish'd for 'em. That they were so far from eating an Infant, that they religiously abstain'd from every thing where there was Blood. But for the *Heathens*, 'twas evident such Murders went glibly down with them, from their frequent exposing their own Children to be devoured by wild Beasts, or starv'd by hunger, &c. and from their Potions to procure Abortions, and from their Human Sacrifices, and their continually dealing with Blood in all their holy Things. Moreover, he adds, that the *Christian* Sect discover'd all the Charms and Graces of Modesty, not only in their Looks and Behaviour, but the Virtue was rooted in their Hearts, and from thence shot forth into the Face, and beautify'd all their Actions; and therefore they commonly married but once, and for no other end, but for the sake of Children. Their Feasts were frugal, and always season'd with Gravity and Clearfulness. Their numbers continually encreas'd from all parts of the World, and from all Degrees and Ranks

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Ranks of Men ; and this was no ill sign of the Power of Christian Godliness. Nor had they any private Marks of Distinction ; a rare simplicity, meekness, and sweetness of Temper, was the distinguishing Livery of *Christians*. They love one another so exceedingly, and call one another *Brethren*, because they are Children of the same God, Servants of the same Master, and Co-heirs of the same Happiness. That they have neither Images, Temples, nor Altars, is, because they look upon the infinite Majesty of God to be abus'd by the representation of Images, and not to be pent up in Temples ; and the most agreeable Altar, to be a Holy Mind. That the most acceptable Sacrifices to God, are Justice, Charity, Purity, and Innocence. That the God of *Christians* is both Invisible and Omnipresent, and that he knows all things, and is every where in the darkest of Abysses, even the Abyss of our own Minds. That never People were so encompas'd with Miracles, and so prodigiously defended as the *Jews* were, while they stuck close to the Worship of their God ; but misery with a witness, always pursued upon the heels of Disobedience.

He then goes on to shew how the Philosophers in general concur'd with Christians in the Conflagration, and other Doctrines. That *Pythagoras* and *Plato* taught one part of the Resurrection, when they taught the Immortality and Transmigration of the Soul. And as to the seeming impossibility of a Resurrection, 'tis much the same thing, if not easier, to raise Men from the dead, than to give 'em Life and Being at first from nothing. He argues likewise, that all the Revolutions in Nature are Emblems of a Resurrection ; and that wicked Men are against this Doctrine, because the Doctrine is against them ; for they had much rather be Annihilated, than rais'd again only to Torment. That they take Advantage from the present impunity in this Life, to conclude against any after reckoning in a Life to come ; but Vengeance will be juster, and heavier

the flower it comes. That the Torments of the Damned are infinite both in degree and duration. That the Fire of Hell consumes and nourishes at the same time the Bodies it preys upon. That after so many Divine Lessons and Demonstrations of a Deity, 'tis not a less Sin to be ignorant of God, than to affront him. That there is no comparison between *Heathens* and *Christians* in the point of Moral Duties; for the *Heathens* practise the Adulteries they prohibit, but *Christians* will not so much as allow of wickedness in Thought, and stand in awe only of their own Consciences. That their Prisons were cram'd with Criminals, but not one *Christian* to be found amongst 'em, but either a *Confessor* or an *Apostate*. And as for Destiny, it was strangely foolish to plead that in excuse for Sin, because Destiny is nothing but the execution of God's Decrees, regulated by his infallible Prescience of what the Actions of every one will be, "but without necessitating them so to be. And as to Poverty, *Christians* are so far from being ashame'd upon that account, that they glory in the Objection; for they conclude no Man poor, but he that thinks himself so; and that they have learnt the Art of possessing all things, by desiring nothing; and that by being stript of the incumbrance of Riches, they find themselves the lighter to run the Race that is set before 'em. That their Sufferings are no Argument either of the Malice or the Impotence of the God they serve, but Tryals only to prove and purify 'em. That many *Heathens* are cry'd up to the Skies for Suffering, tho' *Christians* are cry'd down as much for the very same Virtue, and yet the *Scevola*'s and *Regulus*'s are not comparable, not only to the Men of our Sect, but even to our Women and Children, who look upon all your inventions of Cruelty as meer Jefts and Scare-Crows. That the Persons who are inclos'd in their own Fat, and surrounded with Wealth and Honour, are in a manner but fatted like Victims for slaughter,

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and made a Prey for Sycophants, to be flatter'd out of their Senses into the grossest Abominations. That there can be no real Happiness here without the true Knowledge of God, because worldly Happiness is but a Dream, and slips thro' our Fingers, while we fancy we have it fast in our Hands; and therefore, that a *Christian*, tho' he may seem to be miserable, yet in reality can never be so. He adds likewise, that the *Christians* religiously abstain'd from the Plays, and Pomps, and Vanities of the *Gentile* World, because they look'd upon such Diversions, as inconsistent with good Manners, and their most Holy Religion. That the Disciples of the Cross liv'd above the very ideas and speculations of the Philosophers; who, notwithstanding a mighty appearance of Wisdom in their Writings, and a very grave Face of Virtue and Austerity in their Beards and Habits, were seldom found at Heart; whereas the *Christians*, tho' they always kept a strict guard upon their Behaviour, yet their main business was to be good at bottom, to have their Hearts and Looks all of a piece, and a *Conscience void of offence towards God and Man.*

Oetavius had no sooner finish'd his Answer, but *Cecilius*, as it were like another *Saul*, was struck down with the light and brightness of heavenly Truth; and being convinc'd and ravish'd at the same time with the Discovery, the Transport was too big to stay for the determination of *Minucius*, and therefore he usurps the Office of the Judge, and thus pronounces Sentence himself, *We are both Conquerors, Oetavius triumphs over Cecilius, and Cecilius triumphs over Error; I am perfectly satisfied, and from henceforth subscribe Christian for ever.*

Cecilius's Eyes being thus open'd, and the Man at length help'd out of the Mire of *Heathenism*, the next Point was to set him right in the way of Truth, and to Catechise him more particularly in the first Fundamental Principles of the *Christian Religion*; but this, by

by consent, was put off for the subject of the next days Conference; and that *Catechetical Lecture* is not now extant, which from the foregoing Piece we have good reason to believe, wou'd have been a most instructive and beautiful Conclusion. To supply therefore this *Desideratum*, and from an *African Bishop* too, in whose time the way of *Catechizing* can hardly be thought to have vary'd much from that of *Minucius*, I have here subjoin'd a Summary of St. *Austin's* Book, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*; which to me is a most warm and enlight'ning Discourse; whereby the *English Reader* will see the *Catechetical Instructions* of Old, before Adult Persons were admitted by *Baptism* into the Privileges of the *Faithful*; and which, I think, he can hardly read, without some good Effects both upon his Understanding and his Heart.

The first Interrogatory propos'd by the *Catechist* to the *Catechumen*, was, whether the Motive of his coming now to be made a *Christian*, was the prospect of some Advantage in the Life present, or in that to come? Upon his answering, *in the Life to come*, God be prais'd, (reply'd the *Catechist*) and O! my Brother, I exceedingly Congratulate your Arrival at this Haven, and am heartily glad to find you now Anchoring upon true and solid Happiness, in this dangerous and stormy passage of Life. But let me tell you, that tho' you are now in quest only of a future Happiness, yet if you keep firm to your promise, you will find strange Enjoyment and Complacency at present; you will soon be sensible of the inexpressible Difference between the pleasures of a *Christian* and a *Voluptuary*, and that a good Conscience is the greatest *Epicurism* in the World.: And this you'll find the rather, because Temporary Satisfactions are not the things you come now to reap from your Religion. Some indeed turn *Christians* the better to ingratiate with some great Men; and others come with more sincerity, but not with less dangerous Principles;

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ciples ; for they seem to look upon it, as an Article in the Covenant, that *Christians* shou'd be the happiest, richest, and finest People in the World ; but finding some *Gentiles* making a better figure than *Christians*, they are offended, and immediately take leave of their new Religion. But he only is the perfect *Christian*, who loves God much more than he fears Hell ; who, supposing God shou'd put it to him in these words, *You are at liberty to wallow everlastinglly in carnal Pleasures, and to sin on to the utmost of your Ability, nor shall you be interrupted in your Enjoyment by Death, or punish'd with Hell* ; only remember, *that you shall never be suffer'd to rest in my Presence.* He, I say, is the True *Christian*, who upon these Terms wou'd abhor the Indulgence to Sin, not out of fear of Punishment, but purely for fear of offending that God he loves above all Things, and in whose Presence alone is that Rest for Souls, *which Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, nor has enter'd into the heart of Man to conceive, and which he has prepar'd for them that love him* in this manner.

After this Congratulatory Introduction, he goes on to instruct the *Candidate* in the Belief of the one True God, who was the Maker of Heaven and Earth ; for *Marcion* and other Hereticks asserted another Being above the Creator. He then acquaints him with the Creation of our first Parents, the Nature of that Divine Image after which they were made, their conditional Happiness and Immortality, their original Righteousnes and Perfection, both as to Understanding and Freedom of Will ; their unhappy Fall, and God's Fore-knowledge of it, and the Justice and Goodness of God, in making Man under that View, either to be an Object of his Justice, or an Illustration of his Mercy. After this, he lays before him the amazing Patience and Long-suffering of God with obstinate Sinners, and his wise and merciful Projects to bring them to Repentance and Happiness. For before he brought the

the Deluge upon the World, and destroy'd all Mankind but good *Noah* and his Family, he gave 'em fair warning for an Hundred Years together while the *Ark* was a building, and this he did in order to prevent the impending Vengeance by a timely Repentance, as he afterwards did to *Ninivah* for the same Reason, and with better Success. That this *Ark* of Wood was a Type of that Salvation, which the true Believers in After-ages shou'd obtain by the Crucify'd *Jesus* on a wooden Cross; that in the idolatrous World there were always some righteous worshippers of the True God, and such was faithful *Abraham*, from whom a mighty People were to arise, who shou'd Worship the True God, Maker of Heaven and Earth, whilst the rest of the World lay in darkness and the shadow of Death, totally immers'd in sin and the Service of Devils. However, this peculiar People, these worshippers of the True God only, were strangely Carnal, and gross of Understanding; for excepting some few only, the greater part by much serv'd God under the view of a Temporal Benefactor; and tho' the *Jewish* Religion was in a manner wholly figurative, and there was no one Ceremony of it, but what was a shadow of things to come, of Christ and his Church, yet they sat down with the Shadow for the Substance; they look'd not beyond the Type, nor cou'd ever by all the Succession of Prophets, be made to understand the Design of a Suffering *Messiah*. The Patriarchs and Holy Men of Old, you are to look upon as mystical Members of Christ, tho' they liv'd long before the coming of Christ in the Flesh; for they by Faith were united to him who is the Head of the Church, the only begotten Son of God, the *Logos* of the Father, equal to, and Coeternal with the Father, he by whom all things were made, he himself, I say, was made Man for our sakes.

This People of God, the Posterity of faithful *Abraham*, was sorely afflicted by a cruel Tyrant in *Egypt*,

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till upon their complaints to God, he sent his Servant *Moses*, one of their own Nation, to deliver them. This same *Moses*, by a prodigious shower of successive Calamities at length plagu'd the obdurate Tyrant into a compliance, so that he let the *Israelites* depart his Kingdom upon their own Terms; *Moses* then conducted them to the Red Sea, which upon his Command forthwith divided its Waters, and open'd a way for the People of God, with all their Substance to pass thro' upon dry Ground; and then again upon the Command of *Moses*, the Waters returned and cover'd the Chariots, and Horsemen, and all the Host of Pharaoh that came into the Sea after them, there remained not so much as one of them. Thus as the Earth was purg'd from a Deluge of Sin, by a Deluge of Water, and the Just were saved by an *Ark* of Wood; so here again the People of God found Salvation by those Waters that destroy'd their Enemies; and the Rod of *Moses* which wrought the Salvation, was Typical of the salutary Wood of the Cross, by virtue of which all true Believers are to be saved; and the Red Sea likewise was but Typical of the *Baptismal* Water, by which the Children of God pass over as it were into a new Life; and whereby their greatest Enemies, their Sins, are wash'd away and destroy'd. But among the *Israelites*, nothing was a more lively figure of Christ's Passion, and the Virtue of his Blood, than that Command of God, to kill a Lamb and eat it, and take of the Blood and strike it on the two side-posts, and on the upper door post of the house whereon they shall eat it, and the Blood was to be a token upon the Houses where the *Israelites* were, that when the Lord saw the Blood he wou'd pass over them, and smite only the *Egyptians*. And therefore is Christ called the *Lamb of God*, and said by the Prophet, to be led as a Sheep to the slaughter; in token of whose Blood, and with the sign of whose Cross, you your self are to be sign'd this day in the Forehead, as all *Christians* are, and as the *Jews* in figure

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figure only sign'd the Posts of their Houses. After this, he presses the necessity of Church-Communion; and shews how Christ our Head, and his Church, were delineated to the Life in all the *Jewish* Economy; and that the ceremonial part of the Law was observ'd indeed by all the *Israelites*, but understood by few. Thro' such variety of Types and Shadows of Things to come, (which now faith he wou'd be too tedious to recount, and which we now see fulfill'd in the Christian Church) was that chosen Nation conducted to the Land of Promise, which was another Image of the Kingdom of Heaven; for there was the famous City of God, *Jerusalem*; a Type of that *Jerusalem* which is above, and is free, and the Mother of us all; the Citizens of which, are all the Holy Men which were, and are, and ever will be, together with all that Host of Angels who fell not by pride from their Primitive Holiness and Obedience. Of this City, the Lord *Jesus Christ*, the *Logos* of God, is King; to whom the highest Angelical Powers pay their profoundest Obedience; which Divine *Word* or *Logos* took upon him human Nature, to give him a new Title to the Obedience of Mankind; all which unfallen Angels, together with just Men, shall Reign with him in Rest and Triumph everlasting. An eminent Type of which heavenly King, in that Temporal Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, was good King *David*; from whose Seed, according to the Flesh, came our true King, the Lord God *Christ*, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.

After this, he proceeds to instruct the *Christian Novice* in the Doctrine of Obedience to Civil Powers, from the Example of the Captive *Israelites* in *Babylon*, who during their Captivity, were commanded to pray for the Peace and Prosperity of those who held 'em in Captivity. And moreover, St. *Austin* affirms this to be Figurative of that Subjection which the Christian Church in all Ages was to pay to the Kings

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of this World, according to that Apostolical Doctrine, which commands, *That every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, and that we render Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custome to whom Custome, and so likewise in all other Cases, where we can pay actual Obedience to human Constitutions, without breaking in upon the Commands of God; an example of which Doctrine our Lord himself was, when at the expence of a Miracle he paid his Capitation-Money for that head, which he took upon himself purely for the Redemption of Mankind.* And therefore all the Redeemed of Christ are commanded to do as he did, to pay Obedience to their Temporal Masters, which very Masters the Christian Servants themselves shall Judge at the last Day, if they persevere in their wickedness, or with whom they shall equally Reign, if their Masters turn unto their True Lord in Righteousness. However, we Christians are commanded to bear with the worst of Tyrants, and to be subject till the final Deliverance of the Christian Church at the conclusion of the World; which very Deliverance of the Church was prefigur'd also by that of the Jews, after seventy Years Captivity in Babylon; but till this appointed time of Triumph, we are to continue in subjection to the most persecuting Princes of this World, and according to St. Paul's Doctrine to pray for Kings and all that are in Authority, even whilst they are the enemies of the Church of Christ.

When five Ages of the World were finish'd, the first of which is to be computed from *Adam to Noah*, the second from *Noah to Abraham*, the third from *Abraham to King David*, the fourth from *David to the Babylonish Captivity*, the fifth from the Captivity to the *Advent of Christ*: In this sixth Age or Period of the World, I say, the typical part of the Law, and the Predictions of the Prophets were notoriously verify'd; the promis'd *Messiah*, understood only by a few Patriarchs and Prophets, manifested himself to the

the *Gentile* World ; and now Mankind for a greater Proof. of their Ingenuity, are not put under that necessity of believing as the *Jews* were : They are led on now to the Faith of Christ by the hopes only of an Invisible Happiness, by the expectation of Joys to come in the full fruition of God in the other World ; where- as under the *Jewish* Oeconomy, they serv'd God as it were by a compulsion of visible Rewards and Punish- ments, and were continually over-aw'd by a miraculous Succession of Mercies or Judgments. So that as in the sixth Day of the Creation Man was made after the *Image of God*, so in this sixth Age of the World, the Mind of Man was to be restor'd to that *Divine Image* again, *which after God is created in Righteousness and true Holiness*. And then is this Law of Righteousness fulfill'd, when we serve God not in hopes of some present Gratitude or worldly Blessing, but purely out of Love to the Divine Nature, who enjoins the Duty. And who can forbear to make the most ample returns of Love to that most Holy and Merciful God, who first so loved us, his most bitter Enemies, as for our Redemption to send his only begotten Son, by whom he made all things, and who, without any change or diminution of his Divine Nature, but by assuming Hu- man Nature, was made Man ; not only to live here upon Earth and instruct Man by his Example, but also to be Sacrific'd by him and for him. Accordingly, being made Man for our Instruction, he gave us in himself an imitable Example of the contempt of worldly Grandeur ; he endur'd all the Evils himself, which he commands his Disciples to endure, that so we might learn from our Master to place neither our Happiness nor Infelicity in the things of this World. He was born of a Mother who was a Virgin ; a Vir- gin at her Conception, a Virgin at her Delivery, and a Virgin to her Death ; and yet betroth'd to a poor Carpenter, to be a standing Mortification to the Pride and Folly of such who pretend to be Christ's Disciples,

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and yet value themselves so exceedingly upon the account of Family. The Almighty Maker and Proprietor of all things chose to be born in a Village and in a Manger, that his Servants might learn from his Example to fare contentedly as their Master did; he wou'd not be made an earthly King, that his Followers might learn from thence to set their Affections on things above, and not on things on the Earth. He who was the Bread and Well of Life, chose to be Hungry and Thirsty for our sakes; he who was himself the Way, the Truth, and the Light, fatigu'd himself on Earth to bring us to Heaven; he who made the Dumb to Speak, and the Deaf to Hear, became Dumb, and opened not his Mouth before his Revilers, the better to instruct us in the great Christian Duties of Humility, Meekness, and Patience; that Almighty and Almerciful Physician who loosen'd us from our Infirmitiess, he who was the Scourge of Pain, Diseases and Devils, who was the Lord of Life, and Triumph'd over Death, he, I say, was bound and buffeted himself, scourg'd, and spit upon, and crucify'd, and all for our sakes. This raiser of the dead dy'd himself, but rose again never to dye more, that no Man henceforward should presume to build his contempt of Death upon this false Principle, *That after death he was to be no more.*

After his Resurrection, for the further confirmation of his Disciples, he convers'd with 'em forty days, and made his Ascent into Heaven before their Eyes; and upon the fiftieth Day from the Resurrection, he sent down the Holy Ghost upon his Apostles, according to Promise, by whom the Love of God was shed abroad in their Hearts in such a measure, that to fulfil the Law of Righteousness, was no longer a burden but a pleasure. For as the Children of Israel, fifty days after the killing and eating the Lamb, and signing the Posts of the Door with the Blood, (which was the Passover in Type only) receiv'd the Law written with the

the Finger of God, by which we understand the *Holy Ghost*; so after the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord, who is the true *Passover*, on the fiftieth Day, was the same *Holy Ghost* sent upon the Apostles, and sat upon each of them in the appearance of Cloven Tongues, like as of fire; by which they were enabled to address to all the dispersed *Jews* at that time at *Jerusalem*, and to preach the wonderful Works of Christ in all Languages, and with all Boldness, and to do all manner of Miracles in his Name, insomuch that the very shadow of *Peter* passing by, gave Life and Health. The *Jews* confounded at this Power of Miracles in his Name, whom they had just Crucify'd, were some of them the more enrag'd at the Apostles on account of this new access of Strength and Confidence upon the Death of their Master; others of them observing, that after the utmost efforts of Human Power and Malice, his surviving Disciples were Arm'd with still more Courage and miraculous Assistance, were perfectly overcome with the Evidence, and many thousands of 'em believ'd on him whom they had Crucify'd. They were now entirely wean'd from worldly Blessings, and the expectations of a Temporal *Messiah*; their Thoughts were all on wing after their Lord in Heaven; and as a sure proof of this, they sold all their Possessions and laid the Price of 'em at the Apostles Feet, and had every thing in Common, and with Heart and Mind were all one in the Lord. Upon this, the believing *Jews* were barbarously persecuted by the unbelieving party, which occasion'd a general Dispersion; and by this, the Word of God, the good Seed, was scatter'd abroad in remoter Countries, and the persecuted Converts not only propagated the Doctrine, but suffer'd also after the example of the crucify'd *Messiah*, who durst not grieve, suffering wrongfully, that they might follow his Steps. Amongst these Persecutors of the *Saints*, the warmest Zealot was the celebrated Apostle St. *Paul* himself,

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but he was violently Arrested from Heaven in his course of Persecution, and from thence forward grew much more remarkable for his Zeal and Sufferings for the Name of *Christ*, than ever he was before for his outrage against it. Afterwards the storms arose much more violent and lasting, and the *Christians* were continually harrass'd by the *Gentiles*, drag'd to their Tribunals, and there condemn'd to the most frightful Deaths, meerly upon professing the Name of *Christians*. So sadly did they experience the Truth of that Prediction of our Lord, *Behold, I send you forth as Sheep in the midst of Wolves.*

But the Church of Christ, set forth by the *Vine* which was to spread her Branches thro' the World, was according to Prophecy likewise, to fructify, and spread the more, the more it was water'd by the Blood of *Martyrs*; accordingly, after a most prodigious effusion of Christian Blood all the World over, the persecuting Kingdoms laid down their Arms at length, and submitted with Triumph to the worship of the *Crucify'd Jesus*, which for so many Years had been a stumbling block to the *Jews*; and to the *Greeks* Foolishness. However, after this amazing growth of the Christian Church, the *Vine*, by our Lord's Command, was still to be prun'd and kept in order, and those unfruitful Branches taken off, which spread forth and made a goodly shew in the Name of Christ, but in truth corrupted the Purity of his Doctrine to serve their own Glory and Interest, and propagated Schisms and Heresies wherever they came; by which Divisions the Church was exercis'd, approv'd, and illustrated, and her Patience and Doctrine clear'd and vindicated to her great Advantage. All these things therefore, which we read so long before they had a being, describ'd in Figure and Prophecy, we now with wonderful Satisfaction see fulfill'd in Fact. And as the Primitive Christians by the power of present Miracles, were thoroughly persuaded that all these Predictions wou'd

wou'd be verify'd in their Season, so we now, by the completion of these already past, make no doubt of the fulfilling of the rest which are yet to come. We are therefore confident that the Day of Judgment, we read of in Scripture, will most assuredly come to pass, wherein all the Citizens of Babylon and Jerusalem, that is, the good and the bad all the World over, shall be rais'd again with their former Bodies to give an account of their Actions before the Tribunal of Christ; for he who came in the Humiliation of Man, shall come again in the Brightness of his glory, and divide the Just from the Unjust, not only from such as wou'd not be prevail'd upon to believe the Gospel, but from such also as held the Truth in Unrighteousness; upon the Good, he shall bestow a Kingdom with himself eternal in the Heavens; and upon the Wicked, eternal Punishment with the Devil. But as no worldly Happiness can in any wise come into competition with the Bliss the Saints shall inherit, so no temporal Punishments can be compar'd to the Torments of the Damned, either as to degree or duration.

Let me therefore entreat you, O my Brother, to strengthen your self in his Might, on whom you now profess to believe; fortify your Mind against those virulent Tongues that make a mock of our Religion, and from the Quiver of the Devil shoot their Arrows, and play all their bitterest words against our strongest hold especially, the Doctrine of the Resurrection. Think with your self, that he who made you to be what you are when you was not, can with the same ease, after deah, make you again to be what you was. For 'tis no more trouble to Omnipotence to rally again those Particles, however dispers'd, which once compos'd your Body, than to muster together the scatter'd Clouds, and cover the Sky in a Moment. Be you therefore stedfast and immoveable in this Faith, and betake your self forthwith to a good Life. Fly, O my Brother, fly those Torments, where the Torturers

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tors never cease, and the Tormented never dye, but are dying for ever. Contract your Passions all to this Point, and set your Soul on fire with the Thoughts of that heavenly Bliss, where you will be always in Action and always at Rest; for the Devotion of the Saints above never ceases, nor will ever satiate; labour of Mind, and pain of Body, will be no more, not one pityable Object, not a breath of Sorrow, or the least shadow of want ever overcast that Beatifick Country. For there God will be all Delights, and we with all the blessed Society of Angels and good Men made perfect, shall, from his Divine Presence, drink Rivers of Pleasure for evermore. The equality of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that Unity of Trinity by which these Three are one, the Mystery we now embrace by Faith, and so loudly celebrate in our Creed, we shall then contemplate Face to Face in the profoundest silence of extatik Adoration, and be absorpt in Vision. Let these heavenly Joys live fixt and rooted in your Heart, and pray fervently to your new Lord, that he wou'd defend you against all Temptations. Be constantly upon your Guard against the Wiles of the Devil, for he will not only attack you openly by his profess'd Agents who gnash to see the Kingdom of darkness in a manner quite destroy'd by Christians; but he will undermine you also by those Hereticks and Schismaticks I just now mention'd, as cut off from the Unity of the Church, like unfruitful Branches from the Vine; and sometimes he will make the *Jews* his Engines to tempt and ruin you. But above all, beware of the Wolves in Sheeps-clothing, those Serpents that lye as yet undiscover'd in the bosome of the Church; for the *Poison of Asps* under such unsuspected Lips, is in most danger of insinuating with success. Prepare thy Soul then for Temptations of every Kind, and from every Quarter; for you will find many of those to frequent the *Pagan* Theaters, whom, upon the Christian Festivals, you will find in

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the Church, and this perhaps may be a Temptation to you to do the like. In short, you will find some stark naught, and worse than *Heathens*, who go by the Name of *Christians*; but let me tell you, that if your coming to be baptiz'd into Christ's Religion, be with a design to live like these Men, your coming will be to no purpose; for the Name of Christian will be of no Service to an unrepenting sinner; according to that of our Master, *not every one that says unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father.* Place not your confidence in good Works, nor look upon any thing you can do as Meritorious, *for it is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure.* If you suffer for Christ, great will be your Reward in Heaven; but from him, who giveth place to the Devil, and misemploys his Talent, *shall be taken even that he hath.* Walk humbly with thy God, that he permit thee not to be tempted above what thou art able; for God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.

After these Instructions, the Catechumen is interrogated, whether he believes the things aforesaid, and heartily desires to observe 'em; and when he has solemnly profess'd his Faith and Sincerity, he is to be Baptiz'd, and sign'd with the sign of the Cross, and then treated as a Member of the Christian Church.

This Digression from *Minucius to St. Austin*, is not going much out of my way, because it not only gives the Reader a beautiful Scheme of the Divine Economy in Man's Salvation from the first to the second *Adam, the Lord from Heaven*, but in some measure supplies the want of the next Day's Catechetical Conference, which from the Taft we have of this Author, we may well judge wou'd have been a very desirable piece of Christian Antiquity; for the Dialogue as we now have it concludes abruptly, and is rather a

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Confutation of Heathenism from Heathen Writers, than a Proof and Explanation of the Christian Doctrine. But I cannot, with the Learned Du Pin, think this a fault in my Author; for certainly, Celsius the Heathen was to be convinced of the Folly of his own Religion, before he was particularly to be instructed in the Mysteries of the Christian Faith. Mr. Du Pin's Character of the Treatise before us is this, *The Dialogue is Elegant, the Expressions are well chosen, the Words proper, the Turn agreeable, the Reasons are set forth to Advantage, and beautify'd with a great deal of Learning:* But he does not appear to be very well skill'd in the Mysteries of Religion, and he seems to have believ'd that the Soul shou'd dye with the Body. Now for my part, with all the Eyes I have, I cannot see where he does not appear to be very well skill'd in the Mysteries of Religion, for he has hardly said a word about 'em, this being left for the Subject of the following day's Conference, which is not now extant. And for his seeming to have believ'd that the Soul shou'd dye with the Body, this seems to me to be a mistake both of Du Pin and his Commentator; for he seems to believe no such thing, nor can it fairly be deduced from this Expression, *Nihil esse post obitum, & ante ortum nihil fuisse*, as I have observ'd upon the Passage. For this is no more than Tertullian had said before him, no more than St. Austin said after him in the summary before us, and in short is this. He is Arguing with the Heathen the possibility of the Resurrection, and therefore, supposing with you, that Man after Death is just such a nothing as he was before his Conception, yet you must grant it as easy for God to raise him again, as to make him at first. And this is

* Apol. c. 48.
De Resurr. Carn. c. 2. c. 18.

the Argument the Fathers all make use of, for the proof of a Resurrection.

This Dialogue *Odavius*, pass'd a great while for the Eighth Book of *Arnobius*, it being found together with the seven Books of *Arnobius*, in an ancient Manuscript of the Vatican Library, till the Famous Lawyer *Baldinus* discover'd the Error, and in a learned Preface restor'd it to its true Author, *Minucius*.

The Edition I have follow'd, is that of Mr. *Davies*, it being not only the last, but the Correctest I think by much, and illustrated with ingenious Notes, and some very happy Conjectures; where I have dissent-ed from him, I have given my Reasons for so doing. In the Transtlation, I have made it my business not only to be True and Just to the Sense of my Author, but to his Air and Sweetness of Expression, and to render him agreeably and like himself: But after all, there are some peculiar Graces in one Language, which in another can hardly be preserv'd in their entire Beauty; and *Minucius*, I fear, will never be made to speak so finely in *English*, as he does in *Latin*. In my Notes, I have forbore meddling much with dry Criticism, and chiefly observ'd what I thought might be of most service to Religion; and because my Author has borrow'd so much from *Tully's Quiver*, and batter'd down the wickedness in high Places, from the very Forts of Philosophy, I have set down, or referr'd to those beautiful Passages he has made use of in defence of Christianity, where the Commentatores have been silent. And now I have nothing more to add, but only a wish, that this Discourse which made so glorious a Convert of *Cæcilius* the Heathen, may have some good effect in this Age, as well by convincing our Scepticks and Infidels, as by confirming the Faithful.

THE
OCTAVIUS
OF

Marcus Minucius Felix.

Concerning the

Vanity of Idols.

I. WHILE I was musing, and my Mind taken all up with the Thoughts of my faithful Comrade, my good *Octavius*, I was under so sweet a suspense, and so ravish'd with the pleasing Reflection, that I fancy'd my self in a manner really got back again into the agreeable Hours I once enjoy'd, and not under the imaginary Possession of Pleasures past and gone. Thus my *Octavius*, tho' withdrawn from my Eyes, still dwelt in my Breast, and I saw that Absence had but wrapt him the faster about the Strings of my Heart. Nor was it without reason, that this excellent

excellent and a holy Person at his departure out of this World left such eager Desires and Longings for him in my Soul; for he always

* *Nec immerito discedens vir eximius & sanctus.*] From these and the words foregoing, I am inclin'd to believe, that *Ostavius* departed this Life some time after the Conversion of *Cacilius*; but to go about to distinguish the distance between the Conference with *Cacilius*, and the composing of this Dialogue by *Minucius*, wou'd be rather to divine than to conjecture. The Loss of such an old and agreeable Companion, of so good a Friend, and so good a Christian, our Author took extremely to Heart; and the way he took to supply his Absence, was to make him as present to his Mind as he cou'd, by recalling the pleasing Hours he once enjoy'd, and by preserving his excellent Discourses alive and warm in his Soul, and by inscribing his Book, *Ostavius*, in honour of his departed Friend. And here I cannot but say, that as the Primitive Christians met at the Martyrs Tombs to celebrate their Memories, to bles God for their Examples, to reinfame their own Devotions, and wean 'em from the World; so I think it the Duty of every Christian now to thank God frequently in private for their Dead, as well as living Benefactors, to cherish their Memories, to ruminante on their Virtues, and go after them in their Thoughts, and not to leave 'em at the Grave, and take all the Pains we can to forget 'em; for this is not only a Piece of sacred Gratitude, but of mighty advantage to our own Souls, tho' of none to the Souls departed; for the Thoughts of a dead, as well as the Sight of a dying Friend, do strangely open the Mind, and soften it for heavenly Impressions. And were it not for going too much abroad from our selves, and wearing off these Thoughts among the Living, we shou'd find our Minds oftner upon their Journey to the other World, and in a much better Disposition to leave this than we generally find they are: And there is an excellent Office to this purpose added to the *Reformed Devotions*, by Dr. *Hickes*. The Word *Sanctus*, or *Saint*, not only here, but among all the Primitive Writers, and in many places of the New Testament, is but another word for *Christian*, and stands oppos'd not to unsound Christians, but to Heathens. Thus, 1 Cor. 1. 2. *To them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints* (or rather called the *Saints*) *with all that in every place call upon the Name of Jesus Christ our Lord.* The *Sanctified in Christ Jesus*, and the *Saints called*, seem to be Words of the same import, denoting such as were called forth, and separated from the World, thro' Faith in Christ; for 'tis certain, that many Members of the Church of Corinth wanted the inward Sanctification of the Spirit, but *Ostavius* was *Vir eximius & sanctus, a Christian in Life, as well as Profession.*

burnt with equal Fire, and lov'd me so passionately again, that both in our Diversions and Business, our Minds continually play'd in consort to one another, insomuch, that you'd imagin there was but one Soul between us both. Thus he alone was the Confidant in my Amours, and he alone my Companion in Errors; and after Break of Day, when from the Abyss of Darkness I had emerged into the Light of Wisdom, and Truth divine, he then refus'd me not as a ^b Companion, but to his greater Glory, ran before me as a Guide. While therefore I was turning over the Thoughts of our living together, and our perpetual Familiarity thro' every Stage of Life, my Mind stopt in her Travels, and settled her Intention chiefly upon that Discourse of his in the momentous Disputation he had in my Presence with *Cæcilius*, whereby he brought him over to the true Religion, tho' at that ^c time extremely

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^b *Non respuit Comitem, sed quod est glorioſius praecurrit.*] From hence 'tis evident that *Octavius* and *Minutius* had kept Company a long time in the Vices and Superstition of the Age, and were considerably advanced in Years and Vanity, before their Eyes were opened to see the *Wisdom* and *Truth*, as he emphatically stiles Christianity in this Place; they both broke thro' the strong Holds of Education and Interest, and every Worldly Temptation, for the Doctrine of the Cross. *Octavius* it seems had the Glory of leading the way, but like a true Friend, he cou'd not be content to be happy without his *Minutius*, till his Companion in Error shar'd with him in the Truth; nor cou'd *Minutius* stay long behind, according to that of *Horace*,

*Ab te mea si partem anima rapit
Maturior vis, quid morer altera?*

^c *Cæcilius superflitiosis vanitatibus etiam nunc inherentem, &c.*] *Pontius* in the Life of *St. Cyprian*, says, that it was one *Cæcilius*, a Presbyter of venerable Age and Piety, who brought over the great

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ly bigotted to the Heathen Vanities and Superstition.

¶ H. For *Octavins* having some Business, and a longing Desire to see me, came to *Rome*; and the Visit was the more obliging, because he had forc'd his way thro' the strong Endearments of House, Wife, and Children; and that too which is most amiable in Children, even while they were in the Season of Innocence and Prattle, expressing themselves by halffs in their broken Dialect, a Dialect that has all its Graces from the pretty Imperfections of the fault'ring Tongue. At whose arrival, with what excessive ungovernable Joy I was transported, I want words to express; and the unexpected Presence of the friendliest Man on Earth was that which swell'd the Passion the higher. After a Day or two therefore, when continued Presence had abated the first Transports, and we had acquainted each other with our mutual Adventures during our Absence, we resolv'd upon a Journey to the ple-

great *Cyprian* to the Christian Faith, who upon his Conversion took on him the Name of *Cecilius*, as being the Father of his new Life; but that this *Cecilius*, was the same with him in this Dialogue, *Rigaltius* and others can see no reason to believe, but I confess I can see no good reason to disbelieve it; for *Cyprian* was converted about the Year 243, that is, 32 Years after this Dialogue, when our *Cecilius* must needs be an old Man; and he was an African too as well as St. *Cyprian*, and that which makes the Conjecture the more probable, is, that one of the first Books which St. *Cyprian* wrote, viz. *Concerning the Vanity of Idols*, is taken almost wholly out of this of *Minucius*. There is a huge Pother about *etiam nunc inherentem*, but it manifestly refers to the time of the Conference with *Cecilius*, when he was deep in the Heathen Superstition, and not of the Writing of this Dialogue, when he was deliver'd out of the Mire of Heathenism into the Purity of the Gospel.

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The Octavius of

sant City of ^a *Ostia*; and the rather, because I look'd upon those salt Baths as an agreeable and proper Remedy for drying up the Humors I was then afflicted with. It was ^c Vacation-time, and that gave me a Loofe from my Business at the Bar; for it was the time after the Summer's Heat, when *Autumn* promis'd fair, and put on the Face of Temperate. We set out therefore in the Morning early, and as we were walking upon the Sea-shore, and a kindly Breeze fann'd and refresh'd our Limbs, and the yielding Sand softly submitted to our Feet, and made it delicious Travelling, *Cecilius* on a sudden espy'd the Statue of *Serapis*, and according to the vulgar Mode of Superstition, rais'd his Hand to his Mouth, and pay'd his ^f Adoration in Kisses.

III. Super-

^a *Placuit Ostiam petere, &c.*] *Ostia* was built by *Ancus Martinus* in the Mouth of the *Tyber*, renowned for the Retirement of the learned Romans; for thus *Tully*, lib. 5. de Fin. c. 24. speaking of *Scipio Africanus*, *Quem Tyberina decursio festo illo die tanto gaudio affecit*. Here it was also that *St. Austin* had his famous Discourse with his Mother *Monica* about the Felicities of the other World; here it was she died and was buried. *Confess. lib. 9.*

^c *Ad vindemiam feria judicariam curam relaxaverant.*] Hence we find that *Minucius* was not only a Lawyer, but that he practis'd at the Bar after he profess'd Christianity. The Vintage-time was Vacation with the Romans, as well as Harvest with us, and for the same reason, *Ne quis Messium aut vindemiarum tempore adversarium eogeret ad judicium venire. Vid. Ulpian. in Pandect. leg. 1. de Feris.* That no one shou'd be disturbed with Law-suits in time of Harvest or Vintage.

^f *Cecilius, simulacro Serapidis denotato, ut vulgus supersticiosus solet, manum ori admovens, osculum labii pressit.*] To *Adore*, is literally to *lift the Hand to the Mouth*; and it being the vulgar Mode to express their Worship by kissing the Hand, therefore *ερωτεύειν* and *Adorare*, which both signifie to *Kiss*, signifie also to *Worship*. That this was an ancient Form among the Heathen, we may see from that

III. Upon which *Ozavias* addressing to me, said thus; It is not well done, Brother *Mark*, thus to leave your inseparable Companion in the depth

that of *Job*. If I beheld the Sun when it shined, or my Mouth hath kissed my Hand, This also were Iniquity, for I shou'd have deny'd the God that is above, cap. 31. v. 26, 27, 28. Besides this way of Worship by Kissing the Hand, they kissed the Idol it self, according to that of *Hosea* 13. 2. Let the Men that sacrifice, kiss the Calves. In the foregoing Apology, cap. 6. Tertullian says, that in the Consulship of *Piso* and *Gabinius*, *Serapis*, and *Isis*, and *Harpocrates* with his *Cynocephalus* were turn'd out of the Capitol, and their Altars demolish'd. And accordingly, says *Tully*, Si Diis sunt illi quos colimus, & accepimus, cur non eodem in genere Serapim & Iism numeremus? But Tertullian says, they were restored to their divine Honours, and so we find from *Lucan*,

*Nos in Templa tuam Romana accepimus Iism,
Semideosq; Canes, & sisira jubentia iugis,*

Concerning the Original of this *Serapis*, *Ruffinus* says, there were various Opinions. Some took him to be *Jove*, *Cujus capiti modius super impositus, vel quia cum mensurâ modoq; cuncta indicet moderari, vel vitam mortalibus frugum largitate praberit*, *Ruf. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2.* But the learned *Vossius*, in his Book of Idolatry, has made it appear with wonderful Probability from this of *Ruffinus*, and the Testimonies of *Julius Maternus*, and *Suidas*, and from other Arguments, that the Memory of *Joseph* was preserved under the *Ægyptian Apis*. For he observes, first, that 'tis highly probable that so extraordinary a Person, so great a Prophet and States-man, and so publick a Benefactor as *Joseph* was, wou'd have his Memory consecrated to Posterity; that the *Ægyptians* were most likely to do this by some Symbolical Representation of the Kindness; that no Symbol was more proper for this than the *Ægyptian Apis*, because the Famine was prefigured by the *Lean Kine*, and the Plenty by the *Fat*; that *Minucius* had a *Golden Bull* erected to his Memory at *Rome*, for relieving the People in a time of Famine. 'Tis evident, likewise, by *Pharaoh's* rewarding *Joseph*, that the *Ægyptians* were desirous of shewing their Gratitude, that it was a common Practice among 'em to perpetuate the Memory of Benefactors by some Symbols, which tho' at first design'd only for Civil Use, were afterwards abus'd into Idolatry and Superstition. And lastly, the very Names *Apis* and *Serapis*, give great Light and Probability to the Conjecture, for *Vossius* conceives *Apis* to be the sacred Name of *Joseph* among the *Ægyptians*, and is as much as *In Father*; and

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depth of vulgar Darkness, and to suffer him
in so clear a Day to stumble upon Stones;
Stones indeed of Figure, and s anointed with

Joseph himself says, that he was a *Father to Pharaoh*; and *Serapis* as *Rufinus* and *Suidas* both tell us, had a Bushel on his Head. And *Serapis* seems probably to be deriv'd from Σωρ, which signifies a Bull, and *Apis*. So that here we have the sacred Story of Joseph visibly traced thro' all the Egyptian Darkness and Superstition in their famous Idol *Serapis*, of which all other Accounts seem purely Fabulous, and without Foundation.

[*Lapides unctos, &c.*] The anointing Stones with Oil, was the Symbol of Consecration. Hence that of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Strom 7. concerning superstitious Men, τοις αιδοις, τοις λεγόμονοις, λαταραις τερπησιώνες, omnem lapidem, ut dicitur, unctum adorantes; which *Arnobius* calls *Lubricatum lapidem* by ex olio unguine folidatum, and not *Ordinatum* as *Grotius* reads it upon Gen. 28. 18. This Mode of Consecrating Stones by Unction was very ancient, and as the most ancient Rites among the Greeks were deriv'd from the *Phœnicians*, and to them from the *Jews*; so this of anointing Stones seems evidently to be derived from the Practice of *Jacob* in Gen. 28. 18. where it is said, And Jacob rose up early in the Morning, and took the Stone that he had for a Pillow, and set it up for a Pillar, and poured Oil upon the top of it, and he called the Name of that Place, *Bethel*. This very Stone (say the *Jews*) the *Phœnicians* afterwards worshipped, and consecrated other Stones with the like Unction, and called them *Betylia* or *Batylia*, in Memory of that erected at *Bethel*. This word for a Stone we find in the Heathen *Damascius* in *Photius*, p. 1062, 1063. οἰδον τὸ Βατύλιον διὰ τὴν οὐράνιον, οὐδὲ Βατύλιον, *lapidem in aere motum*. So likewise in *Sanechuniathon*, as he is translated by *Philo* in *Eusebius de prep. Evang.* lib. I. c. 10. p. 37. ἐπενόντος Θεοῦ Οὐρανὸς Βατύλια, λίθοις ἐμπλυχεῖς μηχανσάμενοι. Deus Cœlus Batylia reperit, animatos lapides insolenti arte molitus. Thus again, *Pliny ex Sotaco*, lib. 37. c. 9. per illas quæ nigræ sunt, & rotunda, urbes expugnari by Clases, easq; *Batulos* vocari. And the Greek Erymologist *Hesychius*, tells us, that *Batulus* was the Stone which *Saturn* devour'd instead of *Jupiter*, and because *Rhea* cover'd it with a Goatskin, which in the Greek is *Bairn* (tho' that signifies any other Skin, as well as that of a Goat) therefore from *Bairn* *Bairnλ*, or *Betelus*, or *Batylus*; to such lamentable Etymologies are the Greek Grammarians often forced for want of understanding the Jewish Antiquities. See more upon this Subject in *Bochart. de Phœn. Col.* lib. 2. c. 2. p. 786. *Seld. de Diis Syris. Heins.* in *Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. Cesaub. ad Theoph. p. 295. Herald, ad Arnob. lib. I. B^r Patrick upon Gen. 28. 18.*

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AT

Oil, and Crowned, but Stones however still they are ; for you cannot but be sensible that your permitting so foul an Error in your Friend, redounds no less to your disgrace than his. This Discourse of his held us thro' half the City, and now we began to find our selves upon the free and open Shore. There the gently washing Waves had spread the extremest Sands into the Order of an artificial Walk. And as the Sea always expresses some Roughness in his Looks, even when the Winds are still, altho' he did not roll in Foam and angry Surges to Land, yet were we much delighted as we walk'd upon the Edges of the Water, to see the crisping friezy Waves glide in Snaky Folds, one while playing against our Feet, and then again retiring and lost in the devouring Ocean. Softly then and calmly, *as the Sea about us*, we travell'd on, and kept upon the Brim of the gently-declining Shore, beguiling the way with our Stories. These Stories were Discourses of *Ostavium* concerning Navigation. But when we had thus walk'd and talk'd as long as we thought good, we return'd back the same way we came ; and being got to the Dock, where the smaller Vessels are laid up to be careen'd, we saw a parcel of Boys wondrous busie at making *Ducks* and *Drakes* upon the Sea. The ^h Nature of that Play, is, to take

^h *Is Lusus est testam teretem, de littore legere, &c.]* This Boyish Play is called by the Greeks ἐποσεκτισμός. And Suidas tells us, that ἐποσεκτίζειν, is Παιδιά τις ἐπωρεύονται παιδεῖς, διεγένεται φίγηλες εἰς Σάλασσα. And Julius Pollux after a particular Description

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take the smoothest Shell they can find upon the Shore, and holding it between their Fingers, with the flat side downwards, or in a Position parallel to the Horizon, to whirl it low upon the Water as far as they are able; so that the Shell may but just graze upon the Back of the Sea, and keep dancing upon the Waves all the time the trajectory Force continues; or in other words, twinkle upon the Surface, cutting Capers sheer along it sails. And that Boy comes off Victor, whose Shell skims the farthest, and jumps the oftenest in skimming.

IV. Whil'st we therefore were taken up with this Sight, *Cecilius* was nothing mov'd, nor vouchsaf'd one smile at the Boyish Contention, but mute, and in the Dumps, and moping by himself, his doleful Looks seem'd to witness huge Affliction. What's the matter, said I, *Cecilius*? What's become of the wonted Gaiety that sat upon those Cheeks, and that Air of Pleasantry which perpetually sparkled in those Eyes, even when you was most in the Serious? I must tell you, reply'd he, the late Discourse of our *Octavius* nettles me extremely,

scription of this Sport concludes just like our Author, εκ ;§ Φ
τωνίθες τὸ διαμάτων ἢ γίγνεται βαλλούσῃ, lib. 9. c. 7. This was, it seems, an ancient and celebrated Sport, and treated of by many learned Critics, as the Reader, if he thinks it worth while, may see in the Edition of this Author by Mr. Davies; 'tis what we, I think, call *Ducks and Drakes*, upon which *Minutius* has bestow'd abundance of very fine words, and entertain'd us nobly upon a very little Subject. And since the Author has shew'd so much good Humour, as well as Eloquence, in this pretty and surprising Description, I was obliged to attempt to do justice to his *Ducks and Drakes*, to set 'em off with all the Majesty and Pomp of Expression, to make it the more diverting and considerable Trifle.

id

in which Invective he took occasion to chastise your Negligence severely, for a handle only to lash my Ignorance the more unmercifully. I am resolv'd therefore to push my Resentments farther, and to argue this whole matter with *O&avimus* from top to bottom. If he accepts the Challenge, I dare promise that as contemptibly as he thinks of me, and my Religion, he shall soon find the difference between rallying with those of his own Tribe, and disputing closely with Philosophers. Let us retire then to yon lofty Pile of Stone thrown up for the shelter of the Bath, and there sit down to refresh our selves after walking, and to compose us the better for the debate in Hand. The Motion was no sooner made, but down we sat, I in the middle, and they on each side; nor stood we upon Ceremony, or consider'd our Rank or Quality in thus placing our selves; for Friendship always finds, or makes Men equal. But I sat middlemost in the Quality of an Arbitrator only, that being next to both I might have an Ear for each, and the more conveniently moderate between the two Disputants. *Cecilius* then thus began.

V. Brother *Mark*, tho' I am fully satisfy'd that you are very well appointed to moderate between us, as having diligently examin'd both Religions your self, and upon mature Deli-

¹ Ut pote cum diligenter in utroq; vivendi genere versatus, repudiariis alterum, alterum comprobaris.] From hence it appears, that at this Conference *Minucius* was well advanced in Years, for he had thoroughlly been vers'd in both Religions, he had diligently examin'd the Pretences

Deliberation quitted ours, and gone over to the Christian way of Worship ; yet I must remind you at present , that you are to act like an impartial Judge, to hold the Ballance even, and incline to neither Party ; that your Sentence may plainly appear, not to be the Effect of your Inclination, but purely the Issue of your Judgement. If therefore you'll sit and hear as a perfect Stranger, and no ways prejudg'd on either side, 'tis the easiest thing imaginable to make it appear, that in human Affairs, all things are * doubtful, uncertain, disputable ; and that our Knowledge of 'em is not Science, but Opinion. And this makes me the less wonder, to see some tir'd in the quest of Truth, and in despair of tracing it home, without more ado surrender to the next Opinion in their way, rather than obstinately maintain the Chase,

Pretences and Principles of both, and upon full Conviction went over to the Christian. And nothing certainly but the strongest Conviction cou'd have engaged the Lawyer to quit his Passions, Interest, and the establish'd Religion, and to go over to the suffering side without a Fee, without any Hopes of Reward but in another World.

* *Omnia in rebus humanis dubia, incerta, suspensa, magisq; omnia verisimilia, quam vera.]* Cacilius at his first setting out reels to and fro like a Man drunk in his Intellectuals, he triumphs before he has struck one stroke, and with all the Air of Assurance and Self-sufficiency pronounces himself certain that there is nothing certain ; he makes slight of the Gods, and swaggers against a Providence, and can make and govern a World without 'em ; he thunders and lightens throughout his Discourse with Flashes of Wit, and rattling Eloquence, and is inconsistent with himself from beginning to end ; in a word, he acts the Part of Velleius the Academicick to the Life, of whom Cicero writes thus, *Tum Velleius, si denter sane, ut isti solent, nihil tam verens quam ne dubitare aliquā de re videretur, tanquam modis ex Deorum Concilio, &c. ex Epicuri Inter mundiis descendisset, &c. de Nat. Deor. lib. i. c. 8*

and

Marcus Minucius Felix.

45

and put themselves to more Pain about it. 'Tis therefore a deplorable thing, and enough to make a wise Man mad to think on't, that a certain Sect of Ideots, and these too neither skill'd in sacred or prophane Learning, nor so much as qualify'd for a Trade, that such Fellows shou'd dare to take upon them to determine dogmatically of the most important and highest Points in Divinity; Points, which all the Sects of Philosophers in all Ages have been beating their Brains about, and left undecided to this Day; nor without Reason, since human Mediocrity is not only infinitely too short

¹ *Studiorum rudes, Literarum profanos, &c.*] Thus in the *Acta of the Apostles*, chap. 4. v. 13. When they saw the Boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant Men, οὐ σεμνοὶ οὐδὲ φίλοι, they marvelled, &c. This for three Centuries was the Objection against the Professors of Christianity, these were the Names given them by *Lucian*, ἀθεότατοι οἱ τοῦ Ιησοῦ. *Lucian Peregr.* p. 338. by *Asclepiades*, *Christiani sunt turba imperita, illitterata frequentia*. *Asclep. apud Prudent.* in *R. Mart.* p. 208. By *Hierocles*, *apud Euseb.* 512. *Petrus & Paulus Ψεύται, οὐ εἰργαλδάτοι, οὐ γόντες*. By *Tertullian App. cap. 49*, *Illi prudenter, nos inepti, &c.* And *Celsus* in his jeering way, speaks thus, Let no Man of Learning and Sence be admitted into the Christian Mysteries, for these are wicked and profane things; but let the Fools, Infants, and Ideots come and welcome, for such are the most agreeable Disciples for the God they worship. *Orig. contr. Cels.* l. 3. p. 137. where you may read *Origen's Answer* to this Charge. And tho' this Objection is not wholly true, (as we may find from *Arnob. lib. 1.* and 2. where he says that *Orators, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Physicians and Philosophers, have renounced their worldly Wisdom for the Gospel*, yet it is a mighty Argument for the Truth of the Christian Religion. For the Foolishness of God (as the World term'd it) was wiser than Men; and had not the Apostolical Simplicity been arm'd with divine Wisdom and Power, it had been as impossible to have prevail'd, as for *Twelve Cripples* to have conquer'd the World; and as nothing but Almighty Power cou'd make 'em attempt it, so nothing but the same Power cou'd make it succeed. So true is that of *Tully, Opinionum commenta delet Dies, Natura judicia confirmat.*

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The Octavius of

for the reach of Things divine, but cannot so much as determine about the Things before us. And moreover, 'tis an insufferable Rudeness and Violence for such little Understandings to be intruding into the Secrets of Heaven and Earth. Thrice happy we, and abundantly wise, wou'd we but be advis'd by that old Oracle of Wisdom, to keep our Minds more at home, and learn to be better acquainted with our selves; but by giving a loose to our madding Fancies, and grasping at Difficulties we are not made to comprehend, we venture out of our depth, and beyond the Limits of human Capacity; groveling and prone on Earth we audaciously aspire to be as tall as Heaven, and affect to have our Heads among the Stars. However, if we will be wandring, at least let us not heap Error upon Error, and besides this Vanity of Knowledge, haunt our selves with our own Shadows, with vain Fears and Whimsies. For if the Seeds of all Things were inclos'd from the beginning in the self-sufficient Womb of Nature, what occasion for an omnipotent Creator? Or supposing all the Parts of the Universe united, rang'd and form'd by a^m fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, what need

of

^m *Sunt fortuitis concuscionibus totius mundi membra coalita, &c.]* The first Strong-hold (or rather Castle of Air) the Inconsistent Cacilius betakes himself to, is, the *Epicurean Hypothesis*. Here he struts about a while and prides himself in his *Atoms*, and frames Heaven and Earth, an everlasting Succession of Suns and Stars, and what not? By the help only of Matter and Chance-medly. He then shoots his Bolts against a Providence from the indiscriminate Events of Good and Evil, and attempts to banish the Fear of another

of an omniscient Artist? If Fire kindled the Stars, and the Heavens are buoy'd up by their own Matter, and the Earth fast'ned by its own Weight, and all the Liquids drain'd themselves into a Sea, whence this Religion, and these Fears, which are downright Superstition? Man and ev'ry Animal breathing, as they are but a spontaneous Concretion of the Elements, into which Man and Animal are again crumbled, resolv'd, dissipated, so all the rest too

nother World out of this. For tho' Epicurus allowed a natural *Prolepsis* or Anticipation of a Deity in the Mind of Man, antecedent to Reasoning, and from thence argu'd, that what is natural must be true; and that the Gods ought to be respected for the Excellency of their Nature, *Habet enim venerationem justam quicquid excellit.* *Tully de Nat. Deor. lib. I. c. 17.* And tho' he wrote a Book *de Sanctitate*, for so much Civility to the Gods, as the *Author* of the *Rights* wou'd have for the Christian Religion; yet for all this he was an arrant Atheist at the bottom; according to that of Posidonius, *nullos esse Deos Epicuro videri, quaeq; is de Diis immortalibus dixerit, Invidia detestanda gratia dixisse.* For his great Design was to rid the World of the Fears of a future Judgment, as his *Minion-Poet* has express'd it,

*At metus ille fors praeceps Acherontis agendum
Funditus, humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo,
Omnia suffundens mortis nigore, neq; ullam
Esse voluptatem Liquidam, Puramq; relinquit.*

To the same purpose Mr. Hobbs (who had always a mighty Aversion to Spirits) has advis'd his Countrymen; saying, *That Men shou'd not suffer themselves to be abus'd by the Doctrine of separated Essences, and incorporeal Substances built upon the vain Philosophy of Aristotle, which wou'd fright Men from obeying the Laws of their Country with empty Names, as Hell, Damnation, Fire, Brimstone, &c. just as People fright Birds from the Corn with an empty Hat, Doublet, and crooked Stick.* And again, *If the Fear of Spirits was but taken away, Men wou'd be much better fitted than they are, for civil Obedience.* And yet at other times Religion must be only a State-Engine, tho' better to keep the People in subjection. Such inconsistent Things are all Atheists, as well as *Cecilius* here before us.

go their Rounds, and return to their Fountain, and are revolv'd in themselves; without Artist, without Director, without any first Mover. Thus from the congregated Seeds of Fire, Suns after Suns light up one another in perpetual Splendor; thus from Earthly Exhalations, Clouds are always growing, and in thick collected Vapors rising higher and higher till anon they burst, and fall in Rain. Hence either the Winds blow, or the Hail rattles, and the Thunder bellows from the encountering Storms, the Lightning Flashes, and the Bolts fly before it; they fall indifferently, they batter the Mountains, shatter the Trees, smite the Places profane and sacred without distinction, they strike the Atheist, and very often the religious. Not to mention the unstable, unguided Tempests, which roll on without Order or Providence, and bear all before them. In Shipwrecks, the Fates of the Good and the Evil are jumbl'd together, and their Merits drown'd in Confusion. In Fires, the Guilty and the Innocent are burnt indiscriminately; and in Plagues, the raging Pestilence sweeps away all alike; and in the Rage of War, the bravest Warriours soonest fall. In Peace also, Wickedness is not only put upon the Level with Virtue, but infinitely above it, even to a degree of Adoration; insomuch, that upon a View of the Prosperity of the Wicked, it wou'd be a doubtful Lay in many Cases, which one shou'd detest or desire most, their Crimes or their Fortunes. Had but the World been order'd by a wise Providence and Almighty

Power, ⁿ *Phalaris* and *Dionysius* had never worn a Crown, *Rutilius* and *Camillus* had never met with Banishment, nor ever *Socrates* with Poison. Behold ! the Trees labouring with Fruit, and the Corn white for Harvest, and the Grapes drunk with Wine, and all spoil'd by rain or Hail, just in the Article of Perfection. So that Truth is either lock'd up in impenetrable Night, or what is more probable, inconstant slippery Fortune deals the Game, and is the wanton lawless Queen that rules the World. Since therefore, either Fate or Fortune governs the Universe, how

ⁿ *Quod si mundus divina providentia regeretur, nunquam mereretur Phalaris, & Dionysius regnum; nunquam Rutilius & Camillus exilium, nunquam Socrates venenum.]* This Objection against a Providence is thus managed by Tully, N. D. l. 3. c. 33. *Cur avunculus meus, vir innocentissimus, idemq; doctissimus, P. Rutilius in exilio est? quid dicam de Socrate, cuius Morti illachrymari soleo, Platonem legens?* Then he instances in *Phalaris*, and in *Dionysius* also, who cou'd not be content to strip Jove of his golden Cloak without putting a Jeſt upon him into the Bargain, *Aſtate grave esse aureum amiculum, hieme frigidum, That a Gold-cloak was too heavy for him in the Summer, and too cold in Winter.* Nor had he more Manners to *Æsculapius*, for he not only took off his Beard of Gold, but withal told him, *That 'twas not fitting for the Son to have a Beard, when the Father had none;* and yet nec hunc Olympius Jupiter fulmine percussit, nec *Æsculapius*, &c. But this Objection not only perplex'd the Heathen, but put even David to a stand for some time; for 'tis to be remember'd, That Temporal Blessings upon Obedience, were the express Conditions of the old Law; but the Promises of the new Law were just the Reverse, the Captain of our Salvation was himself made perfect thro' Sufferings, leaving us an Example that we shou'd follow his Steps. And therefore the Martyrs were so far from making their Sufferings an Objection against Providence, that they look'd upon them as the fulfilling of Prophecies, and counted it all Joy when they fell into divers Temptations.

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much better ^o and more venerable is it to stick to the Discipline of Antiquity, Antiquity the Chief-Priests of Truth? To follow the old Traditionary Religion, to adore the Gods we have been taught to fear from our Youth, rather than to pry into with Sawciness, and make Familiar with, such Mysteries; never to pass Sentence about Deities, but to pin our Faith upon our Forefathers, who in the Times of Simplicity, and Infancy of the World, did use to make Gods, either of Publick Benefactors, or of Kings.

VI. Hence therefore is it, that in all Kingdoms, every Province and Town have their peculiar Rites of Worship, and their proper Municipal Deities; for Instance the Eleusinians have their Ceres, the Phrygians their Great-Mother Cybele, the Epidaurians their Aesculapius, the Chaldaens ^p Bel, the Syrians Astartes,

the

^o *Quanto melius majorum excipere disciplinam, Religiones traditas colere, &c.*] 'Tis as natural to take up with the Religion of our Parents, as with their Language, and early Prejudices leave a Tincture upon the Mind, which seldom wear out without much Pains and Ingenuity. Heathenism had been the Catholick Religion for thousands of Years, when Christianity put in her Claim from Heaven; and therefore the Gentiles put the Question to the Christians, *Where was your Religion before Jesus of Nazareth?* Just as the Papists since do to the Protestants, *Where was your Religion before Luther?* And the same Answer was given to the Heathens which is returned to the Papists, namely, *That it was in the Word of God.* This was the Shield whereby the first Christians defended themselves against this Objection of the Heathens, and the Demonstrations they brought to prove, that the Doctrines deliver'd by them, and contain'd in the Scriptures, were originally from God, were the only means of overthrowing Paganism, notwithstanding their loud Pretences to Antiquity and Universality.

^p *Chaldeos Belum, — universa Romanos.*] I have occasionally spoken to the other Idols mentioned by the Author in this Place:

the Taurians Diana, the Gauls Mercury, and the Romans All. And by thus engrofing all the Gods ev'ry where in Worship, the Romans have Monopolized the World ; thus it is they have stretch'd their Empire beyond the Travels of the Sun, and the Limits of the Ocean, by exercising a Religious Discipline in the

Place : As to *Belus*, who by the *Chaldeans* was called *Bel*; by the Hebrews was called *Baal*; and as *Jupiter* had different Names sometimes from the Place, as *Jupiter Olympius*, *Capitolinus*, &c. sometimes from the Benefits he was supposed to bestow; as *Jupiter Fluvius*, *Lucetius*, &c. so had *Baal* his different Titles for the same Reasons, as *Baal-Peor*, *Baal-Tsephon*, *Baal-Zebub*, *Baal-Berith*, &c. according to that of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 8. 5. ὃς τοῖς εἰσὶ Θεοὶ πολλοὶ, καὶ κύριοι πολλοὶ. As there are Gods many, and Lords many, or *Baalims*; which by the way Mr. Cl. according to his singular Modesty, contrary to all the Ancient Fathers and Commentators, and contrary to the very design of the Apostle in this place, translates thus, as really there are Gods many, and withal, Dictator like, adds, *The Apostle hath no reference to the Gods or Idols of the Heathens*; but by Gods in Heaven are meant God and the Angels; in the Earth, Magistrates, who are also called the Lords of the World. And yet the Apostle in the Verse immediately before this, says, *That an Idol is nothing in the World, and that there is no other God but one*; and then adds, for tho' there be that are called Gods, whether in Heaven, or in Earth, &c. are not the οἱ ἀειφόροι Θεοί, those who are Gods by Name only, plainly oppos'd to *Him*, who is the God in Truth and Reality ? Whoever but this celebrated Critick cou'd have made St. Paul in one Verse say, *We know there is no God but one*, and in the next Verse say, *There are really Gods many*. But to our purpose, this *Belus* is by Bachart suppos'd to be *Nimrod*, which signifies a *Rebel*, and was the Founder of the Name and City of *Babylon*, εἴη οὐδὲ Βίλας, ὃς κίτας αὐτήν. But after the Establishment of his Empire, *Nimrod* or *Rebel*, being a Name of Infamy, the *Chaldeans* left it off, and used only the Name of *Baal* or *Bel*, *Lord*; to cover the Disgrace of their Founder. *Universa Romanis*. This was the *Roman Pantheon*, the Temple or Repository of all the Host of Deities, not unlike perhaps the *Chambers of Imagery* mentioned by *Ezek. cap. 8.* wherein were all the Host of Idols pourtray'd upon the Walls, Every form of creeping Things and abominable Beasts, and all Idols of the House of Israel pourtrayed upon the Wall round about them, v. 10.

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Camp, and by ⁹ Fortifying their City with Sacred Rites, with Vestal Virgins and numerous Priests of all Degrees and Quality ; while besieg'd and taken all but the *Capitol*, they worshipp'd the Gods whose Anger others despis'd, and broke thro' the *Gallic* Squadrons astonish'd at the Boldness of their Superstition, not with Sword in Hand, but without Arms, without Weapon, Steel'd only with Religion ; by adoring even their Conquer'd Deities, when the Enemy had taken the Town, and they found the Victors insulting them to the last degree of Insolence ; by ransacking all Nations for new Gods, and making 'em their own ; by raising Altars to the ¹⁰ Unknown Dei-

⁹ *Dum urbem mununt Sacrorum Religionibus, &c.]* This Ciceron expresses in these Words, *Diligentissimeque urbem Religione, quam ipsis mænibus cingitis.* N.D. l. 3. cap. ult. Old Heathen Rome, it seems, concluded the Strength of their City to lie more in the Number of their Idols, than any Human Fortifications ; and that part of Heathenism, to the great Scandal of Christianity, is in Fashion to this Day ; they have their *Tutelar Saints* in abundance ; they have chang'd the Idols, but continue the Idolatry. The ground of this multiplying of Idols seems evidently to be this, that they conceited the Deities to be confin'd to their Images. *Aeneas* therefore secur'd his Idols from the Flames of *Troy*, and took 'em as his Guard along with him ; and among other Reasons, why *Rachel* stole away her Father's Images, his *Teraphim*, this is thought to be one, that *Laban* might not by consulting with these Images discover what way *Jacob* took in his Flight ; and for the like reason *Cæcilius* tells his Opponent, that the *Romans* were Masters of the World, because they had their *Pantheon*, the whole Host of Idols in Worship.

¹⁰ *Dum aras exstruunt etiam ignotis Numinibus, &c.]* We are told, that the *Celtiberians*, or People of *Arragon*, were wont to pay their Devotion to the unknown God upon a full Moon, by Dancing all Night in unseemly Postures ; for thus *Strabo*, l. 3. *Celtiberi & eorum Vicini in Boream habitantes, cuiquam Deo cuius nomen non extat, rotundâ Lunâ, tempore nocturno ante fores per omnes domos*

Deities, and Infernal Spirits ; in a word, by thus getting to themselves all the Religions in the World, they got to Rule it for their Pains. Hence a perpetual Tenor of Worship, not impair'd, but strengthen'd by Age ; for the Ancients always paid a Veneration to Temples

pernoctant, saltus agitantes, &c. And *Philostratus* in the Life of *Apollonius*, lib. 6. and *Pausanias*, lib. I. moreover tell us, that the Athenians had their unknown Deities, and to mention no more, St. Paul himself assures us, *Act. 17. 23.* that in *Athens* he saw an Altar to *Ωερψ ασυνωτω*, To the Unknown God. And we are inform'd likewise from St. *Jerom*, that there was an Altar also with an Inscription *Ωεοις ασυνωτοις, ignotis numinibus*, as *Cecilius* here speaks. *Vid. Hieron. in Titum cap. 1.* For these are his Words, *Inscriptio autem ara, non ita erat ut Paulus asseruit, sed ita, Diis Asia, Diis Ignotis, & Peregrinis.* This was excessive Boldness in *Jerom* to contradict St. Paul in a Thing he saw with his own Eyes, and which is confirm'd by *Lucian, Philip.* p. 1121, 1129. The whole Inscription we find from *Oecumenius* was this, *Ἐγεὶ δὲ οὐ τῶσα τὸ Κωνῖτον τοιαῦτη, Ωεοις Ἀοις, Ἐγεωπης, καὶ Αἰγαίους, Ωερψ ασυνωτω καὶ ξένω.* So prone were they to Superstition, that when St. Paul preach'd up *Jesus* and the *Resurrection*, they took *Anastasis* or the *Resurrection* to be a Goddess, as *Chrysostom* and *Oecumenius* both observe upon the Place. Tho' Dr. *Bentley* saith, that they too well understood the Notion of a *Resurrection* to think it a Goddess, *Serm. 2. p. 9.* With whom the Learned Dr. *Whitby* agrees in his *Annotations*; but if that be all the reason, I cannot see how they came not to understand the Notion of *Fides* and *Fortuna*, *Febris* and *Cloacina*, too well to Worship 'em for Goddesses; for *Anastasis* seems to bid as fair for a Goddess, as those and many others. For fear then they shou'd omit any, they erected Altars to the Unknown Gods; the Cause of which we are told, was a Vision appearing to *Philippides* in his Embassy to the *Lacedemonians* for Aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that *Pan*, (who by *Socrates*, and others, was look'd upon as ὁ ἀπόλλα, the God who made all things) was not worshipped, and promising his Assistance if he was; they therefore proving Victorious, and for fear of *Pan's* Anger for the time to come, erected an Altar to the Unknown God. Now this Supreme Deity was called the Unknown God, not because they had no Notion of him, but because they had no Image to Worship him by, and so cou'd not tell what to make of him, nor where to find him upon occasion, as they cou'd their own Idols. He was a God as *Cecilius* speaks, *Quem nec ostendere possunt, nec videre,*

and Ceremonies according to their Age, and the Obscurity of their Original.

VII. Nor was it but upon good grounds, (for I will venture, at present, to own a Providence, and so err in Favour of the Gods, if it be an Error) that our Ancestors spent so much Pains, either in the Observation of Auguries, or in the Consulting of Entrails, or in the Institution of Sacred Rites, or the Consecration of Temples. For examine your Books of Record, and there you'll find the Ceremonies of all Religions matriculated, either how they were to return Thanks for the Divine Favours, or to deprecate impending Wrath, or to attone it while taking Vengeance upon them. The ^t *Idæan Mother of the Gods*, who by her Arrival both clear'd the *Matrons* Chastity,

⁴ *Ausim enim interim & ipse concedere, & sic melius errare, &c.]* Cecilius finds himself in the torrent and hurry of Disputation carried off from his Epicurean Principles into the Confession of a Providence; and that the Roman Greatness was owing to the Roman Gods; for fear, I say, that this Concession should reflect upon his former Reasonings against a Divine Providence, (which he resumes Section the 10th, calling such a God *impudenter curiosum*) before he enters upon the Proofs of a Providence in favour of the Romans, he prefaches thus by way of Prevention, *Ausim enim interim & ipse concedere, & sic melius errare. I will venture for a while to acknowledge the Care and Inspection of the Gods, and their extraordinary Concern for the Romans upon the account of their Devotion;* and so make a better mistake than Octavius, who asserts an All-seeing Providence, notwithstanding the Worshippers of it do nothing else but pray, and suffer for so doing.

⁵ *Texit Mater Idæ, &c.]* Amongst several other Tricks of the Demons, you have this just hinted at by Tertullian. *Ap. cap. 22.* and told more at large by Lactantius, *Nam cum ex libris Sybillinis Idæa Mater esset accita, & in vado Tyberini fluminis Navis quæ vehebatur, besisset, nec ullâ vi commoveretur, Claudiam ferunt quæ semper impudica esset habita ob nimios corporis cultus. Deam submissis genibus orâsse ut si se castam judicaret suum cingulum sequeretur,*

stity, and deliver'd Rome from her Fears of the Enemy, is an Authentick Witness of Divine Providence. The Statues in the Lake *Juturna* of the two Equestrian ^u Brothers *Castor* and *Pollux*, appearing just in the same Habit with their Statues, and who came panting upon their Smoaking Steeds, and brought the News from Persia of the Victory the same Day they procur'd it, do sufficiently testify the same Providence of the Gods. The Restoration of the *Circensian Games* upon the Dream of a ^w *Plebeian*, is another Instance of the Concern of an offended *Jove*. The ^x *Decii* who devoted themselves for their Country, prove the same Thing. And *Curtius* likewise, who at the Command of the Gods rode into the gaping Earth, and bravely clos'd the Gulph with the bulk of his Horse and the Rider, is another Witness to the same Purpose. The slighted Auguries to our cost have demonstrated the Concern of the Gods much oftner

*of if Victory
our persus
y sum day u
was procur'd*

retur, ita navim que ab omni juventute non valuit commoveri, ab una muliere esse commotam. La& de Or. Er. I. 2. p. 82.

^u *Testes Equestrium Fratrum Statua, &c.]* These are called by *Tertullian*, *Phantasmata Castorum*, and mentioned by *Lactantius* in the Places above cited; and they are produced also for Instances of a Providence by *Balbus* in *Tully de N. D.* I. 2. c. 2. *In nostra acie Castor & Pollux ex equis pugnare visi sunt, & recentiore memoria iidem Tyndaridae Persen victum nunciaverunt.* Which when *Cotta* comes to answer, he calls *Fabellas aniles*, lib. 3. c. 5.

^w *Testis ludorum offensi Jovis de somno plebeii Hominis iteratio.]* Thus again *Cicero*, *Exin cuidam Rustico Romano visus est venire, qui diceret, Praesulem sibi non placuisse ludis, idque ab eodem jussum esse eum Senatui nunciare, illum non esse ausum, iterum esse idem visum, &c. lib. 1. de Divinat. c. 26.* Which Word *iterum* perhaps was the reason why *Minucius* here chooses to use *iteratio*.

^x *Deciorum devotio rata.]* Thus *Tully* again, *Tu autem etiam Deciorum devotionibus placatos deos esse censes. de N. D. lib. 3. c. 6.*

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than we desir'd. Thus y *Allia* is become an ill-boding Name to this Day, and reads us a continual Lecture against the Contempt of the Gods. Thus the Naval Fight of *Claudius* and *Junius* against the *Carthaginians*, may be look'd upon rather as a direful Shipwreck caused by Heaven, than the desolation of a Battel. And *Flamininus*'s despising the

* *Sic Allia nomen infaustum.*] Here it was that the *Gauls* gave the *Romans* such a fatal Overthrow, that *Dies Alliensis* went proverbially afterwards for *Dies infaustus*, an unlucky or black Day. Hence that of *Lucan*,

Et damnata diu Romanis Allia Fastis.

Thus likewise *Ovid* in *Ibin*.

Hec est in Fastis cui dat gravis Allia nomen.

And *Suetonius* says, that nothing cou'd succeed well with *Vitellius*, qui omni divino humanoque jure neglegit *Alliensi* die Pontificatum maximum cepit. *Suet. vit. Vitel.* c. 7. The only Question is, how this comes to be put among the Instances of despising Religion, and the Answer we have in *A. Gell. Noct. Att.* lib. 5. c. 17. namely, because *Q. Sulpicius* before he engag'd with the *Gauls*, sacrificed the Day after the *Ides*, and many Senators had observ'd, *Quotiens belli gerendi gratia res divina postridie Kalendas, Nonas, Idus, a Magistratu Populi Romani facta esset, ejus belli proximo deinceps praeiorum publicam male gestam fuisse*; tum *Senatus eam rem ad Pontifices rejecit ipsi, quod videretur statuerent*; *Pontifices decreverunt, nullum his diebus Sacrificium recte futurum.*

* *Sic Claudii & Junii non prælium in Pœnos, sed ferale Nanfragium.*] When the *Pullarius*, or *Pullet-prophet*, told *P. Claudius* that the Chickens wou'd not Eat, he in derision bid him throw 'em into the Water, to see if they wou'd Drink, ut biberent quoniam esse nollent. *Qui risus classe devicta multas ipsi lachrymas, magnam Populo Romano cladem attulit.* And then follows the Instance of *Junius*, *Collega ejus Junius eodem bello nonne Tempestate classem amisit cum auspiciis non paruisset?* *Cic. de. N. D. lib. 2. c. 3.* the following Examples quoted by *Minucius* we have likewise in *Tully*, concerning *Flamininus*; he says, *neglecta Religione apud Thrasymenum cecidisse, cum magno Reipublicæ vulnere*; and more at large in his Book *de Divinat.* l. 1. c. 35. where he returns the *Pullarius* this Answer, *Præclara vero auspicia, si esurientibus pullis regeri poterit, saturis nihil geretur*; and what our Author mentions of *Crassus*, *Dirarum imprecations Crassus & meruit & irritavit*. *Tully* expresses thus, *M. Crasso quid acciderit, videmus dirarum obnunciatione neglecta.*

Augu-

Auguries, was the Cause which swell'd the Waters of *Tbrasymen*, and purpled them with Blood. And in our *Parthian* Expedition for the Recovery of our Standards, *Craffus* deservedly paid for his Ridiculing the Dire Imprecations. I pass over many Ancient Relations nor do I say one Word of the Poetical Stories concerning the Nativities of the Gods, the Presents they have made, and the Posts they have undertaken; I omit also the Predictions of the Oracles, for fear you should think Antiquity a little too much inclin'd to Fable. Consider the Temples and Shrines of the Gods, the Defence and Ornament of the City, which are infinitely more August and Venerable upon the account of their Divine ^a Inhabitants, for the

^a *Intende Templis — magis sunt augusta Numinibus Incolis, praesentibus Inquilinis, quam Cultus insignibus, &c.c.]* From hence I observe, that our Heathen *Cæcilius* was not so gross as to believe the Images themselves to be Gods; but only that they were to be worshipped upon the account of the *Indwelling Deities*, which by Magical Ceremonies and Enchantments were introduced, and there thought to be confin'd, as we say the Devil is in a *Circle*. For this Reason, when the Romans plunder'd a City they brought the *Idols* along with 'em; concluding the Deities and the Images went together, as we find by *Cæcilius*. With relation to this it is, I conceive, that the Apostle, *Acts* 17. 25. says, *That God is not worshipped with Men's Hands*, as if he could be worshipped only, or spoken to in a Consecrated Image made by Man. But tho' these Images were thus inhabited and influenced by the Dæmons, yet the Writers both of Old and New Testament, and all the Primitive Fathers, represent them still as they were in themselves, *εἰδώλα ἀπάντα, dumb Idols*, and such only as gave Answers by the help of Evil Spirits. This *Indwelling* or *Inhabitation* of the Dæmons, was the Foundation then of the *Heathen-Idolatry*; and had they worshipped the true God the same way and for the same reason, it had been Idolatry, and expressly against the second Commandment; for if *Indwelling* be a good ground for Worship, we may Worship every Creature in the World, for God himself is present ev'ry where alike

the present Indwelling Deities they contain, than for all the Riches and External Glitter of their Sacred Furniture ; for hence it is, that the Priests come so big with the God, and gather Events not yet in Being ; hence are they inspir'd how to caution against future Dangers, to cure Diseases, to give hopes to the Afflicted, help to the Miserable, comfort to the Calamitous, and ease to the Painful. In short, even we our selves in our Repose, do see, hear, and acknowledge the Gods by Night, whom impiously we disown, discard and blaspheme by Day.

VIII. Since therefore we have the firm Consent of all Nations for a Proof that there are Gods, tho' their Nature and Original are lit-

alike, tho' we have not such visible Exhibitions of his Divine Glory ; the God of *Israel* stiles himself a *Jealous God*, and upon the severest Penalties forbade his People to worship him, as the Nations did the *Devils*, that is by Images ; and therefore to say, that the *Jews* worshipped the *Cloud* it self because of the *Shekinah*, is a mistake in Fact, they worshipped towards it as we bow towards the Altar ; but they worshipped the *Cloud* no more than we worship the *Bread and Wine* in the *Eucharist*, notwithstanding the *Descent* of the *Holy Spirit* upon the *Consecrated Elements*, as the *Fathers* suppos'd. No *Indwelling* less than such an Union whereby God and the Creature becomes *One Person*, as in our Lord Christ, can be a Foundation of Divine Worship ; and therefore the Learned *Bishop* of *Sarum* in his *Exposition* upon the 28th *Article*, p. 334. where he says, that *Justin Martyr* and *Irenaeus*, and others, suppos'd an *Union* of the *Elements* to the *Body of Christ*, like that of the *Humane Nature's* being *united* to the *Divine*, is not to be understood strictly, because just such a *Union* wou'd make the *Elements* just as much the *Body of Christ*, as God and Man is one *Person Christ Jesus* ; and consequently by virtue of such an *Hypostatic Union*, the *Fathers* ought to have worshipped the *Sacred Elements*, which they never did, as the *Bishop* hath sufficiently proved, and therefore they never dream'd of any *Union* here, just like that of the *Divine and Humane Nature in Christ*.

tle known ; I cannot bear to hear a Man of such a brazen Effrontery, and so bloated with his Atheistical sort of Wit ; I cannot, I say, endure to hear him run down a Religion so Venerable in Years, so Beneficial to the Publick, and so Good to us All. For tho' there were such Men as that ^b *Theodorus of Cyrenæ*, or his Predecessor *Diagoras of Melos*, surnam'd *The Atheist*, both which by asserting the Non-existence of the Gods, utterly destroy'd all that Fear and Reverence, which alone can restrain Mankind, and hold 'em within the bounds of Government, yet these Men will never have the Name and Reputation of Sages for Reading Lectures of Atheism under the Colour of Philosophy. If the Men of

^b *Sit licet ille Theodorus Cyrenæus, vel qui prior Diagoras Melius, cui Atheon cognomen apposuit antiquitas, qui uterque nullos deos asseverando, timorem omnem, quo humanitas regitur, venerationemque penitus susciperunt, &c.c.]* The Ingenious Editor Mr. Davies, in his Notes upon this Place is in a doubt, whether it shou'd not be read *Diagoras Milesius*, from the Authority of the Manuscript; and because the Learned Dr. Bentley has observ'd *ad frag. Callimachi* 86, that he is call'd *Milesius*, not only by *Eusebius* and *Theodoret*, but by *Chrysostom*, *Hom. 4.* upon *1 Cor. cap. 1.* The Matter I think is not much; but since 'tis allowed that *Diagoras* was born in the Island *Melos*, since 'tis allowed also, that our *Minucius* has borrowed not a little from *Cicero*, and manifestly in this very Passage, there seems to be little reason to doubt, but that our Author wrote as he found it in *Cicero*, whose Words are these, *Deos esse dixerunt, dubitare se Protagoras, nullos esse omnino Diagoras Melius, &c Theodorus Cyrenaicus putaverunt*; and a little after thus, *hūd scio an pietate adversus Deos sublatā, fides etiam & Societas humani generis, & unaexcellentissima Virtus, Justitia tollatur. Cic. de N.D. lib. 1. cap. 1, 2.* which Words differ nothing from the Sence, and not much from the very Words of our Author. Whoever wou'd see a farther account of these two Infamous Atheists, may find it in *Diod. Sic. l. 13. Plut. de placit. Philos. lib. 1. c. 7. Sext. Empyr. Pyrrhon. lib. 4. Laert. in vit. Bion.*

The Octavius of

Athens banish'd & Protagoras of Abdera out of their Dominions for but disputing Sceptically, rather than Prophanely, concerning the Gods, and burnt his Writings in a full Assembly; what, (for you'll bear with some

Cum Abderitem Protagoram, Athenienses viri, consultè potius quam prophanè de Divinitate disputationem, & expulerint suis finibus, & in Concione ejus Scripta deuferint.] Here we have another plain reference to Tully, who explains our Author's Consultè potius quam profanè in these Words, Nam Abderites quidem Protagoras cum in principio Libri sic posuisset, DE DIVIS NEQUE UT SINT, NEQUE UT NON SINT, HABEO DICERE, Atheniensium jussu, urbe atque agro, est exterminatus, Libique ejus in Concione combusti. From hence we may observe how deeply the Notion of a God is rooted in the Mind of Man, how hard a thing it is to be an Atheist in spight of Nature, when unassisted by Revelation, that after so many Ages of Darkness and Debauchery, Cecilius cou'd produce but two profest Atheists, and these mention'd as Monsters, and delivered down to Posterity with all the Marks of Infamy; aud when Protagoras wrote but doubtfully about the Gods, the Athenians in Parliament not only burnt his Books, but banish'd him their Dominions: A memorable Precedent, and recorded to the eternal Honour of the Athenians, since as Tully speaks, Cum penam ne Dubitatio quidem effugere potuisset. And if the Heathen were so zealous for the Gods they worshipped, which were but the Work of their own Hands, shall our Diagoras's and Protagoras's, our Atheists, Theists and Scepticks, our T-ls, A-ls and S-n-s, with Tales of Tubs, and such like Blasphemous Buffooneries pass uncensur'd in a Christian and Reform'd Kingdom? Mala atque Impia consuetudo est contra Deos disputandi, sive ex animo id fit, sive simulate; 'tis an evil and impious Custom (says Tully) to dispute against the Gods, whether in Jest or Earnest. And if Men are tolerated at this time of Day to call in Question the Being of a God, and the Divinity of his Christ, (whose Servants we profess to be, and by whose Name we are called) and to write Books in ridicule of his most Holy Mysteries, if such things shou'd go unpunish'd the very Athenians wou'd rise up in Judgment against us; our Fastings and Prayers wou'd be but a Publick Mockery, and a worshipping of God as the Man did Mercury, by flinging Stones at him: For thus said the Lord to Joshua, get thee up, why lyest thou thus upon thy Face, there is an accursed Thing in the midst of Thee, O Israel, Thou canst not stand before thine Enemies, until ye take away the accursed Thing from among you.

Free-

Freedoms in the heat of Disputation, and where my Religion is at Stake) what, must I not shew my Resentments against a lamentable Crew of People, prohibited by Law, and desperately careless of what becomes of

[⁴ Homines deploratæ inlicitæ ac desperatæ Factionis.] These were common Titles bestow'd upon the Primitive Christians by the Heathen; the *Deplorati* here seem to be much the same with what *Lucian* calls 'em, viz. *Kaxod' aljuoves*, *Miserable Wretches*, or in our own Phrase, *Poor Devils*; *Lucian*, *de Mort. Peregrin.* *Inlicitæ*, tho' it be found in *Regio Exemplari*, the most Ancient Book as *Rigaltius* acknowledges, yet he conjectures it shou'd be read *Incitæ*; because, says he, *friget inter illa duo Deploratæ ac Desperatæ*; but considering he has the Authority of the most ancient Copy for this Reading, considering that *Tertullian*, from whom *Minucius* has borrow'd not a little, pleads that the *Christian Sect* ought to be reckon'd *inter licitas Factiones*; among the *Lawful Societies*, *a quâ nihil tale committitur, quale de illicitis Factionibus timeri solet.* Ap. cap. 38. Considering this, I say, I see no reason for Amendment, because *Inlicitæ* seems to be a Word as warmly situated, and not less proper to the Time than *Incitæ*; for thus it runs, *a Forlorn Sect of Men, prohibited by Law, and regardless of their Lives.* The Christians are here called *Desperati*, which according to the Judicious Mr. *Bingham*, are the same with the *Parabolarii*, Persons who hired themselves out to fight with wild Beasts upon the Amphitheatre; and because the Christians were put to fight for their Lives in the same manner, and they rather chose to do it than deny their Religion, they therefore got the Name of *Parabolarii* or *Desperati*. The Name of *Parabolarii*, tho' a Name of Reproach, the Christians were not unwilling to admie of, being one of the truest Characters that the Heathens ever gave them: but that of *Desperati* they rejected, as being a pure Calumny, and no ways agreeable to a Sect of Men animated with such hopes as the Christians were. *Vid. Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church*, p. 20. But one Thing here cannot be pass'd over without Remark, That among all the company of ill Names which *Cecilius* so liberally bestows upon the Christians, he never thinks fit to call 'em *Rebels*; for the *Prophana Conjuratio* in the following Period, means no more than the *Conspiracy of Christians against the Gods then worshipp'd*; but *Cecilius*, notwithstanding all his Prejudices, seems to have understood the Christian Principles better, than to charge them with Disobedience to the Supreme Powers on Earth, after such constant Professions of their Loyalty, and such indisputable Demonstrations of it, under the highest Provocations to the contrary.

'em

'em in this World? Must I suffer such Fellows to wage open War, and to march on without control against the Gods I worship? A Society of Men, or rather a Conspiracy of profane Wretches, drawn from the Dregs of the Populace; a Collection of Fools only, and credulous Women, who by the Weakness of their Sex lye fairest for Delusion; a Rabble, that by nocturnal Assemblies, and solemn Fasts, and inhuman Feasts, and not by any religious Rites are confederated, unless it be by a Sacrifice, that stands it self in need of an Atonement. A Sect of ^e Owls skulking about in Holes, and afraid of Light, who can't speak one word in Publick, and yet can never hold their Tongues in Private. They look upon our Temples, as no better than ^f Charnel-houses, they

^e *Latebroſa & Lucifugax natio.*] Another reproachful Name we find here given the Christians, was, *The Skulkers*. The Ground of this scurrilous Reflection, was the *Cetus Antelucani*, mention'd by *Pliny*, their *Assemblies before Day* for religious Worship, which they held at that time to avoid the Fury of the Persecution. Accordingly *Tertullian* putting the Case, that after his Decease his Wife thou'd marry again with a Heathen, asks her, whether she thought her Husband wou'd let her rise from his Bed, to go to these nocturnal Assemblies, *Tert. ad Ux. l. 2. c. 4.*

^f *Templa ut Busta despiciunt, deos despiciunt, &c.*] The Christians look'd upon the Heathen-Temples, as Charnel-Houses, because they look'd upon their Gods, but as dead Men. According to that of *Tertullian de Spectac. c. 13. Dum mortui & Dii unum sunt, utraq; Idololatria abstinemus, nec minus Templa quam Monumenta despiciimus*; for the Christians did not bury in the Body of the Church for some hundreds of Years after Constantine. For *Chrysostom* tells us, *Hom. 26. in cap. 122. ad Cor. p. 929.* That Constantius the Emperor reckoned he did his Father Constantine the Great a peculiar Honour, by obtaining leave to have him buried in the Porch of the Church, which he had built at Constantinople to the memory of the Apostles, and wherein he earnestly desir'd to be buried.

they spit at our Gods, and deride our Worship, and the pitiable Wretches take upon 'em to pity the Honours of our Priesthood, and despise the Magistrates Purple, when they hardly have a Tatter to their Tails. Good Gods! what a strange Mixture of Ignorance and Foolhardiness displays it self in these Men! They despise Torments present, and dread such as are future and uncertain; and while they fear to die after Death, they fear not to die when Living, and their fallacious Hopes feed 'em up with a Fools Paradise in reversion.

IX. And as vilest Things are the most fruitful, and the quickest Growers, so now this abominable Sect, this wicked Weed is running over all the World, and the cursed Contagion spreading every Day. Execrable Opinion, and to be quite rooted out of the Earth! They know their Party by ^g secret Marks and Badges

. of

buried. *Vid. Dr. Cave's, Prim. Christian. Part the 3^d. p. 279.*
Deos despunt. Because the Persons to be baptized were placed at the Baptistry, with their Faces to the West, as the Symbol of Darkness, and there stretched out their Hands, and spit in defiance of their old Master the Devil, the Prince of Darkness, therefore I have literally translated these Words, *Deos despunt*, *They spit at our Gods.*

^b *Occultis se notis &c. insignibus noscunt, &c.]* Ev'ry Sect, both among Jews and Gentiles, had some Badges of Distinction; and the Badge our Saviour wou'd have his Disciples known by, was a distinguishing Charity; *By this shall all Men know that you are my Disciples, if ye love one another.* And the Christian Charity was so notorious, that we find it became Proverbial in Tertullian's time; *See how these Christians love one another.* *Ap. cap. 39.* This is taken notice of by *Lucian de mort. Peregrin. Tom. 2. p. 764.* not to mention *Julian* and others. Now the endearing Appellations of Brother and Sister, their having all things in common, their hearty Embraces, with the Kiss of Charity, were the great Motives which made

of Distinction ; they have mutual Love before they know one another ; their Religion is nothing but a Medley of Lust ; they promiscuously go all by the Names of *Brother* and *Sister* , that by Virtue of these sacred Titles, simple Fornication so much in practice amongst 'em , might commence Incest. Thus these vain and senseless Religionaries triumph in their Debaucheries. Nor is it credible, that sagacious Fame shou'd raise so many, and such horrid Stories about 'em ; Stories not fit to be named in express Terms, was there no Foundation for such Reports. 'Tis bruited about, that they are so fondly Superstitious, as to worship the consecrated Head of the vilest Animal, the Head of an Ass, a sacred Ceremony very becoming, and mighty well calculated for such stupid Sufferers. Others give out, that they hang about the Knees of the Bishop, and adore the most ^h dishonourable Parts of

made the *Gentiles* believe they had private Marks upon their Bodies, whereby they distinguish'd one another at first sight; and the Practice of some Hereticks, who had such private Marks (as I have already mention'd) amongst themselves, might farther contribute to the charging of the same upon all Christians without distinction.

^h *Alii eos ferunt ipsius Antistitis ac Sacerdotis colere Genitalia.]* The Time of Penance being expired, the Penitents address'd themselves to the Bishop for Absolution ; and their Repentance being examin'd into, and found sincere, they were openly readmitted into the Church by the Imposition of the Hands of the Clergy ; the Party to be absolved knelt down between the Knees of the *Bishop*, or in his absence of the *Presbyter*, who laying his Hand upon his Head, solemnly bless'd and absolv'd him. And from hence arose that scandalous Report (tho' *Cæcilius* will not aver it upon his own Knowledge) that the Christians us'd, *Sacerdotis colere Genitalia*. Vid. Dr. *Cave's Prim. Christianit.* p. 3. c. 5. pag. 372. And *Tertullian* in his Instructions to the Penitents, *de Pœnit.* c. 9. bids them, *Caris Dei adgeniculari*, tho' this is to be understood of the Congregation of the Faithful, and not of the *Bishop* or *Presbyter*.

Nature;

Nature; I will not aver these things upon my own Knowledge; but a Religion that loves to hide, and deals so much with Darkness, gives just Grounds for such Suspicions. And some say, they make a God of a Malefactor, who for his Crimes suffer'd the most dishonourable Death, and that cursed Crosses of Wood are a Part of their Religion; Altars indeed agreeable enough for such profligate Votaries, who worship the Gallows they deserve.

I come now to the Story about the ⁱ Initia-

ⁱ *Fam de initiandis Tyrunculis Fabula tam detestanda, quam nota est, &c.]* This inhumane Barbarity of devouring a Child in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper you find charg'd upon the Christians in the foregoing Apologies; and to the Remarks I have made there, I add farther, That since all the Christian Apologists deny the Fact with the utmost abhorrence; since *Ostavius* calls it the Calumny of the Devil; since the Primitive Christians in general abstain'd as strictly from Blood as Fornication, and argue it against the *Gentiles* to be the most senseless, stupid thing imaginable to worship what they eat and Sacrifice; since *Theodoret* says, that a Man must be stark staring mad to conceive that a God ὡρὴ εὐτῆς ἐστόμαχον, which he eats, *Theodor.* in *Gen.* 9. 55. And again *Qu.* 11. in *Levit.* tells us, that the great Lawgiver of the *Jews* commanded them to eat what other Nations worshipped for Gods, *ἴνα εὐκαλαφεῖνται οὐκνῶσι τῷ αὐτῷ ἐστόμαχα*, that they might appear very despicable things as being eaten by them; since likewise *St. Jerome* assures us, that *Moses* beat the *Golden Calf* to Powder, and then made the *Jews* drink it, *ut discant contemnere quod in secessum projici viderant*, that the People might learn to despise what they saw went into the Draught, *Ep. ad Fab. Ol. Ep. To. 3. F. 20. A.* And to mention no more, since *Ostavius* puts it as a most ridiculous Question, *Nonne δη Apim Bovem cum Ἀgyptiis adoratis, δη pascitis?* After all this, I say, had the Christians imagin'd that they fed upon the Flesh and Blood of Christ every Day in the Eucharist, how cou'd they thus tax the Heathen with Folly and Madness for eating up the Gods they worshipped? or with what Face of Sincerity cou'd they without any Limitation or Distinction, deny and detest the Charge, had *Transubstantiation* been the Doctrine of those times?

tion of Novices, a Story as detestable as common. An Infant cover'd with Meal, the better to deceive the unwary, is placed before the Person to be initiated; that Infant thus pasted over is murther'd by the Communicant, who upon Invitation, innocently falls on, and dreams nothing of the Babe he is murthering; his Blood (bless me from such Wickedness!) they lick up greedily, and with great Earnestness carve about the Members, and by this Victim are they confederated, and this Communion of Guilt is the common Tye or Pledge for Silence. These are their Rites and Sacrifices, worse by far than all the Sacrileges in the World. And as to their Love-Feasts, they are too notorious to mention, they are in all Mens Mouths every where; and our ^k *Fronto* of *Cirta* in his Oration has blazon'd 'em sufficiently. For upon a solemn Day they meet together at a Feast, with all their Families and Relations, Man, Woman and Child, of all Ages, Sorts and Sizes; and after good Eating and Drinking, when they are well warm'd and in a right Cue for Incest, the Dog that is ty'd to a Candlestick having some Oafals thrown him just out of his reach, by striv-
ing and leaping pulls it down. And thus the

^k *Id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio.*] Rigaltius is inclin'd to believe with Baldwin, that this *Cirtensis* was Cornelius *Fronto*, who Lampridius says was Praeceptor to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*; but Labbe has shewn that we have nothing of any Proof, that this *Fronto* of *Cirta* was the same with Cornelius. *Vid. Lab. Scri. c. 2. p. 93.* All that we can gather from hence is, that *Cæcilius* was his Countryman, *Cirta* being a famous City of *Nomidia*.

Candles being put out, the only Witnesses of their Wickedness, at hap hazard, they ⁱ copulate promiscuously in Darkness, Darkness which is apt to make Men impudent; and if it does not come to all their Shares to be incestuous in Body, yet in Mind they are all so; because they all concur in Wishes, if not in Act.

X. Many things I industriously pass over, for they are but too many I have mention'd, all or most of which 'tis reasonable to believe true of so wicked a Religion, and so fond of Darkness. For why do they take such Pains to conceal and smother what they worship? For Honesty loves the Light, Vice only walks in Mask, and wants a Place to hide in. Why have they neither ^m Altar, nor Temple, nor any

¹ *Nexus infande Cupiditatis involvunt per incertum sortis, &c.]* To what I have already said upon this abominable and groundless Scandal charg'd upon the Love-feasts to render the Christians odious; I add, that Dr. Whitby thinks it not improbable from that of St. Paul, *1 Cor. 5. 1.* *It is reported commonly, that there is Fornication among you, and such Fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one shou'd have his Father's Wife.* From these words διεσάρτητο, it is every where heard of, or 'tis the common Talk; he thinks it, I say, not improbable, that this vile Objection took its Rise; especially if the Corinthians had the Foundation of this Practice from the Jews, from whom the Christians for some time were not distinguish'd.

^m *Cur nullas aras habent, Templorum nulla, nulla nota simulacra?*] This Objection against the Christians for having no Altars, Temples or Images, we find in Origen against Celsus, lib. 8. in Arnobius advers. Gent. l. 6. Lactan. Inst. adv. Gent. l. 2. c. 2. But certain it is, that the Christians even in the Apostles times had Places set apart for divine Worship. For thus St. Paul, *1 Cor. 11. 22.* *Have ye not Houses to eat and drink in, or despise ye the Church of God?* They had not indeed, (nor can it be expected they shou'd) such stately Structures for Churches in times of Persecution, as when the Empire became Christian; but they had their ἀναθήματα or upper Room.

any Images of Note? Why do they never converse openly, nor have any Assemblies in publick? Why, unless the thing they worship is punishable or infamous? From whence, I pray, or who, or where is this Only, Solitary, Destitute God, whom not one free Nation or Kingdom knows any thing of, no not even the *Roman* Bigotry, which worships all the Gods all the World over? The *Jews* indeed, a desolate wretched People, did worship this one Solitary God, but then they

Here it was that *Peter went up upon the House-top to pray, Act. 10. 9.* and where the Apostles and Disciples assembled together daily for Prayer, and where the Holy Ghost came down upon them in cloven Tongues of Fire, at the Feast of Pentecost. For as they sold their Lands, so no doubt they set apart some part of their Houses for divine Service. Accordingly, we find Salutations sent to *Nympha*, and the *Church at his House*, to *Philemon*, and the *Church at his House*, to *Aquila and Priscilla*, and the *Church at their House*, &c. *Justin Martyr* in the preceding Apology, tells us that all the Christians in Town or Country met together upon *Sunday* in one Place to worship and celebrate the *Lord's Supper*. This Passage therefore of *Cecilius* is not strictly, and according to the Letter to be understood, as if the Christians in his time had no *Churches*, or fix'd and stated Places of Worship, but only that they had no *Temples* according to the *Heathen* Notion of a *Temple*, which was a Cloyster of Deities shut up in their *Idols* by Magick Spells, like Birds in a Cage; for they suppos'd their Gods as much confin'd within their Shrines, as the Shrines were within the Temple. According to this Notion therefore the Christians answer'd, that they had no *Temples*, nor ought to have any, for as much as the God they worshipped, was such a one as fill'd Heaven and Earth, and dwelt not in *Temples made with Hands*, in their Sence of Confinement. And because the word *Temple* was appropriated to this Notion of *Encloistering the Deity by an Idol*, therefore the Christians for the best part of the first three hundred Years abstain'd from the use of the word *Temple*, calling their Places of divine Worship, *Ecclesia*, οἶκοι ἢ Ἐκκλησίας, *Kυέταντ*, *Εὐκήσεια*, &c. and seldom or never *Naoi* or *Templa*. But this Subject is so largely and learnedly treated by *Mr. Mede* in his *Discourse concerning Churches*, lib. 2. p. 319. and by *Dr. Cave* in his *Primitive Christianity*, Part 1. cap. 6. p. 128. that I shall say no more about it.

worship.

worshipped him with Temples, Altars, Sacrifices and Ceremonies; and he was so Puiney, so far from a God Almighty, that both himself and all his People are now Captives to the *Roman* Deities. But for Christians, what a strange imaginary Monster do they dress up in opposition to our establish'd Ways of Worship? This God of theirs, whom they can neither shew, nor see, is a Being, forsooth, that sees every thing himself, that busily pries into all our Manners, all our Actions, knows all our Words, and the very Secrets of the Heart; a Being, forsooth, that is here, and there, and every where, troublesome, restless, and even impudently inquisitive; present to all we do, and peeping in every Corner, when 'tis not

ⁿ *Deum illum suum, quem nec ostendere possunt, nec videre, &c.]* Cecilius (as we observ'd) at his first setting out play'd the Epicurean Part, but forgetting himself in his Passion ran out into particular Instances of the Care of the Gods, with respect to the Romans, and prefaced that Excursion with a *sic melius errare*. Here we find the Fit returning, and the Wretch raving again against the Being of one only invisible God, and the Possibility of a Providence, calling such a Deity, *impudenter curiosum*; just in the same strain, and almost in the same words, with Velleius in *Tully, de N. D. lib. I. cap. 20.* And the Argument he uses to ridicule the God of the Christians by, is, because, *nec ostendere possunt, nec videre; they cou'd shew no Idol of him to others, nor have any Sight of him themselves.* For not only *Maximus Tyrius, Dissert. 38. p. 370.* but the aforesaid *Velleius* likewise argues, *That the Gods are of the same Shape and Figure with Men, Hominis esse specie Deos confitendum est, Cic. de N. D. lib. I. cap. 18.* The Heathens then concluded there cou'd be no Religion, where there were no Images, according to that of *Lactantius, nec ullam esse Religionem, ubicunq; illa non fulserint, Lac. I. 2 c. 6.* And the Carnal Jews seem to be very much of a Mind with the *Gentiles* in this Point, strangely desirous to gratifie their Eyes with the Object of their Worship, as we find from that of *Exod. 32. 1. Up, make us Gods, which shall go before us.*

possible for him to attend upon Particulars, while he is incumber'd with Universals, nor can he be sufficient for Universals, while he is distracted with Singulars.

XI. Nor stop they here, but threaten the whole Globe, and all the Stars with a general Conflagration, and are very intent upon the Ruin. Alas ! as if any thing was able to unhinge the eternal Order establish'd by the divine Laws of Nature, or that all the Elements wou'd break their Confederacy, and the heavenly System be dissolved, and this Machine of ours, or Bulk of Earth thus pois'd and surrounded, be torn from its Foundation. Nor content with this Chimera, they set their Heads on work to spin out other old Womens Fables, and give out, that after death, after their Bodies are burnt to Ashes, they shall spring up into Life again, and with an unaccountable Assurance credit each other in their Fictions, insomuch that you'd swear they had already experienced a Resurrection ; a two edged Mischief, and double Madness ! *First*, To denounce Destruction to Heaven and all its Stars, which at our Death we leave for ever, as we found 'em at our Birth. And *Secondly*, To promise themselves, when dead and extinguis'd, eternal Life ; since when we die, we

^o *Toto orbi,—cum Sideribus suis minantur Incendium, &c.]* The General Conflagration was not only the Opinion of Christians, but of the Stoicks, according to that of *Tully, Academ. Quest. Lib. 4. c. 38.* *Fore tamen aliquando, ut omnis hic mundus ardore deslagret.*

depart

depart into just such a State as we had before we had our Being. And yet, forsooth, they cry out against Funeral Piles, and condemn our way of burning the Dead ; as if all Bodies, tho' volatiliz'd by Fire, were not in succeeding Ages resolv'd into Earth again. Nor is it a Matter of any moment, whether we are torn in pieces by wild Beasts, or devour'd by Seas, or cover'd in Earth, or rarify'd by Fire ; since if these Carcases are sensible after Death, all sorts of Burial are a Punishment ; if not, that is the best, which dispatches 'em the soonest. Fed with this Fools-Paradise of a Resurrection, they promise themselves, as the only deserving People, eternal Life and Happiness ; and threaten all others, as wicked, with Torments that shall never have an end. I ha'n't said half I cou'd say against this sort of Men, was I not in hast ; nor need I labour more to shew them to be the Men of Injustice, I have shewn it sufficiently already ; but granting 'em to be the good People they pretend to be, is it not a receiv'd Opinion among very many, and a Maxim too among your selves, *That Fate is the Cause of all the Good and Evil that is done in the World ?* For as some hold, that in all our Doings we are acted by Fate, so you say we are acted by God ; so that you are not of this Religion by choice, but by Election of God ; and by this way of arguing you make your own God an unjust Judge, who punishes Men not for their Fault but their Fortune. But, pray tell me, shall you rise

again with or without a ^P Body? And if with Bodies, with what sort of Bodies? With the same Bodies you once had, or with new ones? If you say without a Body, then I am sure 'tis impossible, since there can be no such thing as either Mind, Soul or Life without a Body; if with this very same Body, alas! that is vanish'd long ago; if with another Body, then is it a new Man that rises, and not the old One repair'd. And yet after such an infinite Flux of Ages, can you ever tell me of one Person, who had the Privilege of returning from the

^E *Utrumne sine Corpore, an cum corporibus? & corporibus quibus, ipsiſne, an innovatis, resurgatur?*] The Resurrection of the Body seems not to have enter'd into the Imagination of the Heathens, and when that Doctrine was preach'd to them, they look'd upon it as a thing impossible to God himself. For thus *Pliny, Hist. Nat. l. 2. c. 7.* *Ne Deum quidem posse omnia, nec Mortales aternitate donare, nec rennare Defunctos.* But supposing it possible, *Cæcilius* puts the Question here just as we find it put in *St. Paul's* time; *But some Men will say, how are the Dead raised up, and with what Body do they come?* *I Cor. 15. 35.* This, I say, was the Question of the Philosophers; and the Ground of the Objection against the Resurrection of the Body, was this, That the Body was nothing better than the Prison of the Soul. *Kαὶ οὐεῖς τῷ οὐτε τεθνῶν, καὶ τῷ σῶμα ἐγίνετο σῆμα.* *Iambl. Protrept. c. 17.* Thus again, *Seneca Ep. 65.* *Corpus hoc animi pondus & pena est, permanente illo urgetur, in vinculis est.* The Body then being looked upon as the Clog and Punishment of the Soul, and that we cou'd not be happy till our Release from it, the Gentile Philosophers judg'd it to be not only a thing impossible, bur unjust and unworthy of God, to raise such sad Bodies to be wedded again to Souls, whose Happiness consisted in being divorced from them, that being in effect to make them die again. And therefore *Celsus* calls the Resurrection of the Body, the *Hope of Worms, a filthy, abominable, and impossible thing, which God neither will, nor can do,* *Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 5. p. 240.* To this popular Objection therefore both *St. Paul* in his first *Epistle to the Corinthians 15.* and elsewhere, and *Octavius* in his Reply to *Cæcilius*, return a full and satisfactory Answer both as to the Possibility of the thing, and the Excellency and Happiness of a raised and glorify'd Body.

Grave

Grave with a Furlow but for three Hours, as the Poets feign of *Proteus*, only to make this Notion of a Resurrection credible? But these are the Creatures only of a crazy Imagination, idle Comforts invented by fabulous Bards in their versifying Hours, and now shamefully furbish'd up by such credulous Wretches as your selves, and father'd upon your God.

XII. Nor will you be convinc'd by any Experiment from things present, how vainly you are amus'd with the delusory Wishes of an empty Promise. Poor Wretches! learn what you are likely to enjoy after death, by what you feel alive. Behold! the major and the better part of you Christians, according to your own Confession, are in most sad and dismal Plight, and work and starve into the Bargain; and your God permits and winks at all; either he will not, or he cannot help his Servants, and so is either impotent or unjust. Thou that dreamest of a posthumous Immortality, when thou shiver'st at Danger, when thou art burnt with Fevers, and torn to pieces with Pains, what, do'st thou want still to be taught to feel thy self Mortal? Not yet acknowledge thy Frailty? Wretch, that art so sadly convinc'd of Infirmity, and still to deny it! But I will not flourish any longer upon these common Topicks. Behold the Punishments, the Tortures that threaten you, and see the Crosses also you are no longer to adore, but to be hang'd upon! Look upon those Fires there, the Fires you foretold and fear'd: Where now is that God
of

The Octavius of

of yours, so good at a Resurrection, who can revive the Dead, but cannot help the Living? Do not the *Romans* without your God, rule and govern, and Lord it over the whole World, and you? But you all this time, penitive and anxious, sequester your selves from the most fashionable Pleasures; you visit not our Plays, but renounce our Pomp; never does Christian appear at a publick Feast; you abhor our sacred Games, nor will you touch a Bit of what the Priests have ^a taken of before

^a *Præceptos cibos, & delibatos altaribus potus abhorretis.*] These in one word were the *εἰδωλόθυτα*, Things offered to Idols. It was the general Practice all the World over to enter into Covenant by Eating and Drinking together; in allusion to which, the Psalmist says, *Gather my Saints together unto me, which make Covenant with me by Sacrifice*, Ps. 50. 5. St. Paul therefore declaring, *That the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God*, concludes, *And I would not that ye shou'd have Fellowship, or Communion with Devils; ye cannot be Partakers of the Lord's Table, and the Table of Devils*, 1 Cor. 10. 20, 21. They abhorred therefore Things offer'd to Idols, because by eating them they enter'd into Covenant with Devils, as by eating the Sacrifice of Bread and Wine at the Altar of the Lord, they put themselves into Communion with Christ. Mr. Le Clerc indeed, who is more concern'd for the Reputation of the Heathen, than for that of the Fathers, or even of the Inspired Writers, tells us upon the Passage just now mention'd, That *δαιμονία* doth not necessarily denote Devils or Evil Spirits, for the Heathens did not alway sacrifice to Devils, if we consider what their Thoughts were. I am apt to think that St. Paul consider'd what their Thoughts were, as well as this great Critick, when he said, *That the Things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God*. I am apt to believe likewise, that David consider'd what he said, when he declar'd, *ὅτι πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τὸ θύμων δαιμόνια*, That all the Gods of the Heathens are Devils. And Socrates, the Glory of the Gentile World, tho' an Afferter of one Supreme Deity, yet look'd upon it as his Duty to worship inferior Deities; for as he was just expiring, he order'd his Friends to offer a Cock to Aesculapius. And just before he drank his Poison, Plato says, That he did *εὐχαριστεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς*, pray (not to God, but to the Gods, that is, to the Supreme and Inferior Gods both

fore you, nor taste one Drop of what is consecrated at our Altars ; so much afraid are you of the very Gods you deny ; not a ¹ Flower upon

both together, as in Plato's *Phæd.* he did to *Pan* his Supreme Deity, and the other Tutelar Deities of the Place) that his Translation from hence into the other World might be happy to him. The Gentiles therefore all sacrificed to Devils, by sacrificing to those Spirits which acted in their Oracles and Idols, and which were certainly Evil Spirits, and so made to own themselves, when exorcised by the Primitive Christians, in the very presence of their Worshippers. And the turning of the Gentiles from this kind of Worship, is in the Language of the holy Scriptures, called, the Casting out of the Prince of this World, The turning them from the Power of Satan unto God, The delivering them from the Power of Darkness, who were led Captive by Satan at his Will, &c. And thus by St. Paul's θεοφορία, the ancient Fathers did ever understand, Evil Spirits ; never dreaming that the Apostle in this place was dissembling from having Fellowship with good Spirits, before this modern Expositor hit it off.

² Non floribus caput neclitis, non corpus odoribus, — reservatis unquenta Funeribus, coronas etiam Sepulchris denegatis.] To all this Indictment, the Christians pleaded guilty, and justify'd their Non-compliance with these Practices, from the Sin, or the Folly, or the Inconsistence of them with the Gravity and Sobriety of their most holy Religion ; as we find from the foregoing Apologies, and in the following Answer of Oſtavius. The two first, we find in fashion among the Debauchees in the time of the Author of the Book of Wisdom, Let us fill our selves with costly Wine and Ointment, and let no Flower of the Spring pass by us ; Let us crown our selves with Rose-buds before they be whither'd, &c. Thus Plautus in his Amphitruon, Act. 3. Sc. 4. Capiam mibi coronam in caput, assimulabo me esse ebrium. And to mention no more, Martial expresses both the Garlands and the Ointment in these two Verses, Lib. 5. Ep. 65.

Pinquescat nimio madidus mihi crinis Amomo,
Lassenturq; Rosis Tempora sutilibus.

Concerning the great Expences about embalming their Dead, the Primitive Christians were at, they had the Approbation of their Lord for such a Practice, who when the Woman came, having an Alabaster Box of very precious Ointment, and poured it upon his Head, which when some of his Disciples saw, and with Indignation asked, To what purpose is this Waste ? Said to them, she hath wrought a good Work upon me, for in that she hath poured this Ointment on my Body, she did it for my Burial. And we read also, that when Pilate had given leave for the taking away the

upon your Heads, or any costly Perfumes upon your Bodies, all your Ointments you reserve for Funerals; nor allow of Garlands to Sepulchers; a ghastly Kind of Folks, of pale Hue, and fearful Looks, and in truth, worthy our Pity, and that of our Gods too, whom they thus cry out against. Thus you are the Wretches, who neither live after Death, nor live before it. Let me advise you therefore,

the Body of Jesus, that Nicodemus came and brought a Mixture of Mirr and Aloes, about an hundred Weight; (an Instance both of the great Wealth, and of the great Affection of Nicodemus to the blessed Jesus) and they not only anointed him, as they commonly did others, but bury'd him with as great a Mixture of Spices, as were usually expended at the Funerals of great Men. Thus Jacob was embalmed, Gen. 50. 2. And thus Asa, with Spices and sweet Odours, 2 Chron. 16. 14. Now these Crypte, Arenaria, Cœmeteria or Dormitories, where the Bodies of such as slept in the Lord were reposit'd till the Day of Resurrection, were large Vaults dug in dry and sandy Places, and arched over, and divided into little Apartments, wherein the Bodies of the Martyrs on either side lay in distinct Cells, each having an Inscription upon Marble, whereon his Name, Quality, Time, and Manner of his Death were engraven; and the Christians in times of Persecution being forced to hide, and hold their religious Assemblies in these subterraneous Vaults, they might perhaps be the more inclin'd to be at greater Expences about Embalming, to make those Places the less offensive, to which they had such frequent Occasions to resort. The last part of the Charge is, *Coronas etiam Sepulchris denegatis.* The use of Flowers and Garlands about the Body of the Dead, and about their Tombs, we meet with among all the Heathen Poets, ἐδίδοσα τοῖς νεκροῖς ὁ σέφανός, ὡς τὸ βιον διστρισθεῖσα, says Suidas, They bestow'd a Garland upon the Dead, as upon Victors, who had run the Race or fought it out. As there were Garlands laid upon the Corps and the Hearse, so were there also upon the Grave, which Actions the Greeks call σεφανεῖν τὸ τύμπον. They did likewise φυλλοβολεῖν, fall a throwing of Leaves and Boughs upon the Grave. And whether the modern Practice in many Country Parishes of dressing the Corps with Flowers, and laying Garlands upon the Hearse, and throwing Sprigs of Rosemary into the Grave, be not a Spice of this old Heathen Practice, I will not say; however this be, we find that the Primitive Christians wou'd not comply with this Custom, but be buried as their Lord and Master was.

if you have any Sense or Shame left, no longer to be gazing upon the Quarters of the Heavens, and to be peeping into the Fate and Secrets of the World ; 'tis enough in Conscience for such an illiterate, unpollish'd, rude, clownish Sect, enough in all reason for such Heads to look only to their Feet ; for to whom it is not given to understand so much as the Affairs of Men, to such certainly is it deny'd to discourse of Things Divine.

XIII. But if you have such a Lust for Philosophizing, pray do you mighty Philosophers take care to follow, if you can, the Example of *Socrates*, that Prince of Wisdom. The Answer of this great Man, when ask'd about Celestial Matters, is much celebrated, *The t^t Things (said he) above us, are nothing to us.*

¹ *Definite Cœli plagas, &c Mundi fata & secreta rimari, satis est pro pedibus aspicere, &c.]* These Words are much the same with those of *Democritus* quoted by *Tully, de Divin.* l. 2. c. 13. *Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat, Cœli scitantur plagas.* This Accusation seems to have its Rise from the general Belief among Christians, *That the End of all Things was at hand*; and from their frequent lifting up their Eyes to Heaven, and holding up their Hands in form of a Crofs.

* *Quod supra nos, nihil ad nos.]* As I think this saying of *Socrates* urged by *Cæcilius* to no purpose, so do I think it reprehended to as little purpose by *Lactantius*; for *Socrates* design'd nothing more by it, than to call Men off from the vain and idle Speculations of Astrology, to the Study and Practice of real solid Virtue, and therefore I shall do him Justice in the Words of *Tully, Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat, inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis & ab ipsâ naturâ involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum Philosophi occupati fuerunt, avocavisse Philosophiam, & ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus & vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus & malis quereret.* Then follows the Explanation of the Sentence before us, *Cœlestia autem vel presul esse a nostrâ cognitione censeret, vel si maximè cognita essent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum. Acad. Quest. l. 1. c. 4.*

Rightly

Rightly answer'd in good Troth ; and therefore he well deserv'd the Oracles Testimonial for his singular Wisdom, by which he found that he was preferr'd to all the Sages of Greece ; not because he had learn'd out all Things, but because *he had learn'd to know that he knew nothing.* Thus confess'd Ignorance is the greatest Science. From hence came the Art of Doubting, the safe and prudent way of Scepticizing in the highest Points taken up by *Arcesilas*, and long after pursu'd by *Carneades*, and most of the *Academicks* ; much the best way (in my Judgment) of Philosophizing, wherein the "Unlearn'd may engage without Hazard, and the Learn'd come off with Glory. What ? Is not the wise Delay of ^w *Simonides the Melic*, to be admir'd and follow'd by All ? Who, upon his being question'd by the Tyrant *Hiero* about his Opinion of the Gods,

["] Quo genere philosophari & caute indocti possunt, & docti gloriose.] *Cacilius*, methink, might have spared this Flourish upon the *Academicks*, for their Study'd Disguise and Obscurity in matters of the highest Moment ; for as I have already said, *Plato* was the settor up of the *Academy*, and the introducer of this artful Doubting and Ambiguity, for fear of suffering for plain Truth, as honest *Socrates* had done before him. These Cautious Philosophers, and Moderate Professors of Truth, did little more than play at Bo-peep with the World, and hug themselves in a Cloud of their own making ; but *Christians* were the only Sect that dared to Preach up Naked Truth, and stand by their Sermons under the sure and certain hope of dying and rising again to Eternal Life for so doing.

^w Quid ? *Simonidis melici nonne admiranda omnibus & sectanda Cunctatio?*] This Instance stands thus in *Tully*, de N. D. l. t. c. 22. De quo cum quæsivisset hoc idem Tyrannus *Hiero*, deliberandi causa sibi unum diem postulavit, cum idem ex eo postridie quereret, biduum petivit, cum sèpius duplicaret numerum dierum, admiransque *Hiero* cur ita faceret ; quia, quanto, inquit, diutius considero, tanto mihi spes videtur obscurior.

first

first requir'd one Day for Deliberation, and after that two Days more, at length another; and being advis'd to answer, and told, that the impatient Tyrant woud be put off no longer, he reply'd, *That the more he consider'd the Question, the harder he found it.* In my opinion also, doubtful things are to be left as we found 'em; nor ought we to presume pertly and dogmatically to pronounce on either side of a Question, which so many and so great Men after all their Deliberation have left undecided, for fear either of introducing doting Superstition, or destroying all Religion.

XIV. Thus *Cæcilius*, and with a smiling Air, (for the Storm had pretty well discharg'd it self in this Torrent of Words) let's see now what *Octavius* dares reply to these Things, a Gentleman of * *Plautus's Tribe*, a topping Baker, but a most sad Philosopher. Hold, Sir, said I, fair and softly, spare your Reflections and Crowing; for it does not become you as yet to triumph, nor to boast your Powers of Eloquence, before your Antagonist is fully heard; especially in a Cause

* *Homo Plautinae Presapia.*] *Cæcilius*, that he might be all of a piece, as he began, so he concludes in throwing Dirt, instead of bringing Arguments; he falls foul again upon *Octavius*, before he has Patience to hear him one Word in his Defence, and insults him as a poor Rascally Fellow, *One of Plautus's Tribe*; for the understanding of which Title we need only observe what St. Jerome in his *Chronic.* an. 1. *Olymp.* 145. tells us, that *Plautus* was so Poor, that in a time of Famine he was forced to let out himself to a *Baker*, during which Servitude he wrote at his spare Hours three of his Plays; the like Reflection upon the Christians we find made by *Celsus*, *Orig. contr. Cels.* l. 3. p. 144. So popular and powerful an Objection is Poverty against Truth.

where the Contest is not for Praise, but Truth. And tho' otherwise I cou'd have been extremely pleas'd with all the Artful Variety and Subtilties of your Oration, yet am I extremely offended, not so much at any thing you have said at present, but at the whole Trade of Disputation as it is managed in general; I am concerned to see, even the plainest Truths oftentimes so sadly disguis'd and wrested, according to the Strength of the Disputants, and their Powers of Eloquence. This is notoriously owing to the easiness of the Auditors, who suffering themselves to be call'd off by the Artificial Beauty, and colouring of Words, from the examination of the Things in question, y assent to all that's said without distinction, and not considering that what has the appearance of being incredible, may after all be true, and that what has the face of Truth may prove to be false, they discern not the one from the other. The oftner therefore they give an implicit Faith to bold Assverations, the oftner are they caught by skilful Deceivers; and thus continually cheated by their own Rashness.

** Sine delectu assentiuntur dictis omnibus — nescientes inesse & incredibili verum & in verisimili Mendacium.]* This grave and wise Observation of *Minucius the Moderator*, how prone unskilful People are to be decoy'd away with fine Words, and to pin an implicit Faith upon the Authority and bold Assverations of their Teachers, without putting themselves to the pain of judging for themselves, is what *Tully* also frequently complains of as a great Prejudice to Truth, *Quin etiam obest plerumque iis, qui discere volunt, auctoritas eorum qui se docere profitentur, desinunt enim suum judicium adhibere id habent ratum, quod ab eo quem probant judicatum vident;* and a little after in the Person of the Academick; *non enim sumus ii, quibus nihil verum esse videatur, sed ii qui omnibus veris falsa quedam adjuncta esse videamus,* &c. N. D. l. i. c. 5.

and Credulity, they complain not of the Judge, they lay the blame not upon themselves, but upon the uncertainty of Things ; till at length being Piqu'd to find themselves thus often in the Wrong, they chose to condemn all Things and believe nothing, to run into universal Scepticism, rather than be at the Pains of discerning Truth from Error. 'Tis our Duty therefore to set a Guard upon our selves, that we labour not under the like prejudices against all Discourses in general about Truth ; and be not, like many weak People, furiously transported against the Persons of Men ; for such unwary Believers finding themselves trick'd upon by those they had a good Opinion of, fall, at length, into the like extreme, and come to suspect all for Knaves ; and to distrust even those whom they might by Experience have found worthy of their Confidence. We therefore intent upon what is warmly debated on both sides, and knowing withal, that oftentimes the Truth is on the one side much obscur'd, and that great subtlety us'd on the other side may by the help of a mighty flow of Words pass instead of proof ; considering this, I say, I shall weigh ev'ry thing with all the exactnes I am able, in order to choose and take up with Truth, and to commend Sophistry without believing it.

XV. This I must tell you (reply'd *Cæcilius*) is not like a fair Judge ; for 'tis very injurious thus to anticipate, and abruptly interpose a grave Discourse of your own, only to weaken the

Force of mine, since ² *O^tavius* is the Man, who is to give an Answer to ev'ry Particular, as it lies in its full and entire Strength. If (said I) you can think again of what you accuse me, you'll find (if I mistake not) that I have interpos'd only for the common Interest of Truth; that we may hold the Ballance even, and after the nicest examination give Sentence according to the weight of Things, and not be determin'd by the bubbles of an empty Eloquence; nor ought we, as you complain, to call off any longer our Intention upon Things; especially since you see our *O^tavius* stands prepar'd to Answer, and waits only our attentive Silence.

XVI. Upon which Motion *O^tavius* thus began; I shall plead my best, O *Minucius*, and endeavour, as well as I am able, to wash off these foul Aspersions upon our Religion, by a true Representation of Fact. And to be plain with you, my *Cecilius*, in the beginning of your Discourse you have express'd your self in such a loose, rambling, slippery Manner, that I am at a loss to tell, whether 'tis the effect of your indigested Learning, or some wilful Mistake, or whether you are not fallen quite of your Senses with your Superstition, for one while you are for believing Gods, and

² *Januarii Nostri, &c.]* I take the liberty to keep to one and the same Name throughout, because by calling the same Person sometimes *O^tavius* and sometimes *Januarius*, and so again *Cecilius* and then *Natalis*, we shou'd be apt to stop and perplex the common Reader upon no occasion.

then

then again at a stand, as if it was your design only to dodge about in Ambigoities, for fear of being laid hold on with an Answer. But I will not, I cannot believe so ill of my *Cæcilius*, such Querks and Subtleties are no ways agreeable to the simplicity and frankness of his Temper. What then? Why, 'tis just with him, as with a Man that knows not the right way, when he comes to a Place where the Road divides into different Paths, he stands in suspence, not daring to choose any, and not able to follow all. So is it with him, who has no certain Knowledge of the Truth, he totters in his Mind, and changes his Opinion as often as any suspicious Objections come in his way. No marvel therefore, if *Cæcilius* finds himself in this tottering condition, tost to and fro, and floating on Uncertainties; to prevent which restless posture of Mind for the future, I will give him clear and convincing Arguments, and tho' of different kinds, yet all prov'd and confirm'd by Truth alone. Nor shall he ever hereafter be disquieted with any more Doubts and Vagaries which way he is to go. And because my Brother broke into such a Passion, and threw out a parcel of hard Names, protesting that he had not Patience to hear a Company of illiterate poor Ignorants, discoursing of Things Divine; I wou'd have him know, that all Men whatever without distinction of Age, Sex or Quality, are born capable of Sense and Reason; and that Wisdom is not owing to Fortune, but Nature; and moreover, that the Philoso-

phers themselves, and the most celebrated Inventors of Arts, before they signaliz'd themselves by the excellency of their *Genius*, were look'd upon as *Plebeians*, unlearned and just such Tatterdemallions, as he takes us to be ; that the Rich were fetter'd to their Treasures, and us'd their Eyes more to contemplate Gold than Heaven ; and that they were as poor inconsiderable People as we Christians, who made the Discoveries of Wisdom, and deliver'd the Rules of it to Posterity. So that 'tis very well known, that a mighty *Genius* is not an Entail of Fortune, nor the Fruit of Study, but a Felicity of Mind we brought into the World along with us. Choler and Passion therefore are foolish Things, let him be what he will who puts himself upon the disquisition and study of Divine Matters ; since 'tis not the ^a Quality of the Speaker, but the Truth of what is spoken we are to respect ; and the plainer the Discourse, the more visible the Truth, as being stript of the suspicious Beauty and Graces of Oratory, and in its native Simplicity more intelligible, as a Rule ought to be.

XVII. Nor do I deny, what *Cæcilius* has taken so much pains to prove, that Man must learn to know himself, and diligently examin his Nature, his Original, and the End of his Being ; whether he was only a mere Concre-

^a *Cum non Disputantis Aucto^ritas, sed Disputationis veritas requiriatur.]* Which Tully expresses thus, *Non enim tam Auctores in Disputando, quam Rationis momenta querenda sunt.* N. D. l. i. c. 5. We are not to mind so much who it is that speaks, as what it is that is spoken.

tion of the Elements, and thus admirably adjusted by blind Atoms, or made, and fashioned, and animated by God. But this we cannot apprehend without studying the World, and its Maker; for these Things are so closely connected and chain'd together, that you must diligently examin the Nature of God, before you can understand that of Man; nor can you ever be a good Citizen of the World, before this common City of us All, the World and you, are well acquainted; and certainly, since in this chiefly it is that we differ from Beasts, that whereas they are prone to Earth, and bent downward by Nature, and fram'd to look no farther than the good of their Bellies; yet Man is made ^b erect and upright, and by that make form'd for the Contemplation of Heaven, and has Language and Reason to conduct him to the Knowledge and Imitation of God; for a Creature so constituted to be ignorant of his Maker, to wink as hard as he can, that he may not see that Glorious Being that is thrusting in at his Eyes, and knocking for Admission at all his Senses, is the most inexcusable Ignorance imaginable. For 'tis most abominable Sacrilege to be Poring upon Earth for that, which you are only to find in

^b *Nos quibus vultus erectus, quibus Suspectus in Cælum datus est, Sermo & Ratio, per que Deum agnoscimus, &c.]* Mr. Davies has observ'd, that this is an Imitation of Ovid; and so it is as plainly too of Tully, because our Author has borrow'd the following Description of the agreeable situation of the Eyes, &c. from hence, as I shall shew hereafter, the Words are these, *Qui (Deus) primum eos humo excitatos, celsos, & erectos constituit, ut Deorum cognitionem, Cælum intuentes capere possent.* N. D. l. 2. c. 56.

Heaven. For which reason I can hardly think, that such Men have the use of their Soul or Senses, no not of their very Eyes, who cannot see this glorious Machine of the Universe to be the Work of Divine Wisdom, but dream

[*Quo magis mihi videntur, qui hunc Mundi totius ornatum, non divinâ ratione perfectum volunt, sed frustis quibusdam temerè coherentibus conglobatum, mentem, sensum, oculos ipsos non habere.*] The Epicurean Hypothesis is this, that an Infinity of very small Particles, very hard and infrangible, and variously figur'd, have existed for ever in an Immense Void, that these Atoms moving of themselves in direction oblique to one another, after innumerable Interferings and Rencounters, at length, by good luck, settled into this beautiful World we now behold. This is the Scheme, than which nothing can be more Senseless and Ungeometrical for these following Reasons, to mention no more: For 1. It supposes Matter not only Self-existent, but Self-moving, whereas was Motion essential to Matter, it cou'd not be at Rest; but there is in Matter an unactive Principle, a *Vis Inertiae*, as Sir I. Newton calls it, whereby all Bodies, to the utmost of their Power, resist any Change of their State, whether of Motion or Rest. But then, 2. Granting Matter to be Self-existent and Self-moving, yet nothing wou'd follow but an eternal wandering in Lines parallel to one another, without any other Effect. This the Epicureans foresaw, and therefore will have their Atoms move in oblique Directions to one another; that is, these Particles must be Self-knowing and Self-will'd, to go as they pleas'd. And 3. If these Atoms mov'd all with the same Degree of Liquity they wou'd converge to a Point, and so make nothing but one great Sphere either Solid or Fluid. And lastly, To mention no more Absurdities, allowing these Atoms to be Self-existent, Self-moving, obliquely directed, and to meet according to any Laws of Mechanism, yet being hard and infrangible, they wou'd not cohere, or produce any Solid Body more consistent than Ropes of Sand, much less such glorious Bodies as the Planets, moving in Elliptick Orbits, by a Principle of Gravitation or Attraction, no wise essential to Matter, nor accountable by any Laws of Mechanism. He then who can persuade himself, that such a beautiful Fabrick as this World is, was fram'd and consolidated by a fortuitous Jumble of such infrangible Particles, I must say with Tully, *non intelligo, cur non idem putet, si innumerabiles unius & viginti formæ literarum vel aurea, vel quales libet, aliquo conjiciantur, posse ex his in terram excussis Annales Enni, ut deinceps legi possint effici; quod nescio anne in uno quidem versu possit tantum valere Fortuna.* Cic. de N. D. l. 2. c. 37.

that

that 'twas jumbled together by a fortuitous Concourse of Atoms. For what is so clear and undeniable, when you lift up your Eyes to Heaven, and when you look down upon all about you, than that there is a Deity of most excellent Understanding, that inspires, moves, supports and governs all Nature? Consider the vast expanse of Heaven, and the rapidity of its Motion, either when it is studded with Stars by Night, or enlighten'd with the Sun by Day; then shall you see that Almighty Hand which poises them in their Orbs, and ^d ballances them in their Movement. Behold how the Sun girds up and regulates the Year by its Annual Circuit, and how the Moon measures round a Month by its Increase, Decay and total Disappearance. What need I mention the con-

^d *Jam scies, quam sit in eo summi Moderatoris mira & divina Liberatio.*) This Poise or *Liberation* of the Heavenly Bodies in their several Stations plainly spoke a God to the Wiser Heathens; but as the more we know of the Works of God, the more still we are ravish'd with Pleasure and Amazement; so in this very Instance, since the Discoveries of Sir Is. Newton, (whom we may call *quasi quendam Deum Philosophorum*, with much better reason than *Tully* did *Plato*) since these, I say, we see with wonder and demonstration, that 'tis not possible for these Bodies to be thus ballanced and preserved in their Motions without a Power superior to Matter. For 'tis now beyond dispute, that the great and primary Law of Nature imprinted upon all the Bodies of the Universe, is, that ev'ry part of ev'ry Body attracts or gravitates towards ev'ry part of ev'ry other Body; and the general Conditions of this Law are, that the force by which one part attracts another in different distances from it, is reciprocally as the Squares of those distances, and that at the same distance the force of the Attraction of one part towards divers others, is as the quantity of Matter they contain. These vast Bodies then being exactly rang'd according to the Matter they contain, are preserv'd in their several Orbits, by virtue of their mutual Gravitation to one another, which being a Property not belonging to Matter, must be impress'd by a Power superior to it.

stant vicissitudes of Light and Darkness, for the alternate Reparation of Rest and Labour? I must leave it to Astrologers to tell you more at large the Uses of the Stars, either how they direct the Pilot in Navigation, or the Husbandman in his Seasons of Plowing and Reaping; ev'ry one of which Celestial Bodies, as they requir'd Almighty Power and Wisdom at first to create and range them in their Stations, so do they require the most consummate Wisdom and Sagacity to comprehend them now they are created. Moreover, does not the standing Variety of Seasons marching in goodly Order testify the Divine Author? The Spring with her Flowers, the Summer with her

*[Quid tenebrarum & luminis dicam recursantes vices, ut sit nobis operis & quietis alterna Reparatio?] Which is express'd by Tully thus, *Fam diei noctisque vicissitudo conservat animantes, tribuens aliud agendi tempus, aliud quiescendi.* Now this is wonderfully provided for by the Rotation of the Earth about her Axe, for thereby we have the Vicissitudes of Day and Night; the Day for spending our Spirits about our Work, and the Night by its Coolness and Quiet to recover and recruit them for the business of the Day following; for Nutrition is mostly perform'd in the Night, because when our Minds and Bodies are employ'd, the Blood has too rapid a Motion, and the expence of Spirits is too great for the business of Nourishing; a gentle and uniform Motion is necessary to convey Nourishing Juices to their proper Places, and settle 'em there; and for this reason it is, that the grossest People naturally Sleep the longest, and that they are the grosser for so sleeping.*

[Ver aque cum suis floribus, & astas cum suis messibus, & autunni maturitas grata, & hiberna olivitas necessaria.] The beautiful Seasons of the Year are made by Tully also, as well as Octavius, another instance of a wise Providence; we are all sensible of the Pleasure and Necessity of such Seasons, and we who understand the Reason of 'em better than the old Philosophers did, see more Reason to confess a Providence in this distribution than they did. For had the Earth turn'd about her own Axe only once in twenty four Hours, then all our Vicissitudes had been of Days and Nights only,

her Harvests, and the Ripening Autumn with grateful Fruits, and the moist and unctious Winter, are all equally necessary; which Order had certainly been disturbed before now, had it not been fix'd by the wisest Power. What an Argument of a Providence is it, thus to interpose and moderate the Extremes of Winter and Summer, with the allays of Spring

only, which had by no means been sufficient for *Vegetation*; had the *Earth* made a Period about the *Sun* once a Year without any *Rotation* about her own *Axe*, we shou'd have had but one long Day, and another equal Night; had both these been united without the *Parallelism* of the *Axe* of the *Diurnal Rotation* to it self, we might have had our Days and Nights; but our other *Seasons* had been uncertain, and in some Places none at all. *Rigaltius* is of Opinion, that *Hiberna Olivitas* is to be taken figuratively, for the Unctiousness or Moisture of the Winter, that being necessary to fatten and prepare the Ground for the Summer Season, tho' if it be understood with respect to the time of *Olives*, which was in *December*, he says, *facile concedam*; upon which Mr. *Davies* with something less Modesty replies, *Inania sunt qua commentus est Nic. Rigaltius*; and then adds for the Honour of *Gronovius*, that he rightly understood it, *pro ipsa bieme, quemadmodum messes pro estate, &c.* and gives us a Quotation out of *Columella*, that Figs are ripe in *December*. The matter is not much, take the Word *Olivitas* how you will, but I cannot but observe here, as I shall do quickly again, that some *Criticks* have a scurvy Trick of making the Primitive Writers speak as insignificantly as they can; but since *Ostavius* is proving a Providence from the wise variety of the Seasons, and in order to this, specifies the usefulness of each Season, I can hardly think he wou'd instance in Winter, which is an unwelcome Season, without giving some Reason for it, and he cou'd not give a better than his *Hibernas Olivitas necessaria*, if by that he meant the *Fat Unctious Moisture of the Winter Season*; for had we enjoy'd a constant Summer, our Ground had been worn out and become effete with *Vegetation*; there wou'd not have fallen sufficient quantities of Rain for purging, softning, and impregnating the Earth; for we find there is more than twice or thrice as much Rain falls in the Winter six Months from *September* to *April*, than in the Summer six Months, and yet all this is but sufficient for six Months *Vegetation*; and therefore I am willing, with *Rigaltius*, to allow this old Christian so much Philosophy, as to intend this by his *Olivitas necessaria*, notwithstanding Mr. *Davies* is so positive to the contrary.

The Octavius of

and Autumn, that we pass the Year about with Security and Comfort, between the excesses of Parching Heat and Cold ? Observe the Sea, and you'll find it bounded with a Shore, a Law it cannot transgres; look into the vegetable World, and see how all the Trees draw their Life from the Bowels of the Earth ; view the Ocean in constant Ebb and Flow, and the Fountains running in full Veins, and the Rivers perpetually gliding in their wonted Channels. What need I spend more Words to shew, how providentially this spot of Earth is canton'd out into ⁸ Hills, and Dales, and Plains ? What need

[Quid loquar recta Montium, Collium flexa, porrecta Camporum.] Thus Tully among many other Instances enumerated by our Author, mentions, *Impendentium Montium altudines, immensitatemque Camporum, de N. D. l. 2. cap. 39.* Mountains indeed have been set forth, not as the handy-work of God, but as the Ruins of the Deluge, of no advantage, and aspect hideous ; but Tully, it seems, and our Octavius understood better, than to be of this Opinion. For the making this instance of Divine Wisdom the more intelligible, 'tis to be observ'd, that from the Calculations of several the wisest Searchers into Nature, it has been found, that the Sun raises a quantity of Vapours from the surface of the Sea in a Year's time sufficient to furnish all our Rivers with fresh Waters for the same space ; moreover, that these Vapours thus rais'd, rarify'd, dilated and put into a violent Motion by the heat of the Sun, as by a Fire under an Alembick, are carry'd about the Atmosphere till they hit against these Eminencies, and by that shock are condens'd, and by that Condensation becoming heavier than the Air they swim in, fall down upon the Mountains, whose inward parts being hollow and stony preserve them, as it were in a Basin, 'till being gather'd in such quantities that they overflow, and ouze out at the next easiest Passage they meet with, and in their Descent joining with others, form Rivulets, and from a conjunction of these form Rivers. Whereas, had we no Mountains, these Vapours wou'd fall equally upon many Places together, and so be stuck'd up either in the spongy Mould, or raise a general Puddle. But, granting we might have had Rivers without Mountains, (which I cannot conceive possible) yet these Rivers (cou'd they have

need I speak of the various ^h Artillery for the defence of every Animal? Some arm'd with Horns, or hedg'd about with Teeth, or fortify'd with Hoofs and Claws, or spear'd with Strings; and others either swift of Foot, or Wing? But above all, the beautiful Structure of Man most plainly speaks a God; Man of Stature straight, and Visage erect, with Eyes at top like Centries, watching over the other Senses within the Tower.

XVIII. But I shou'd never come to an end, was

have ran at all upon a Level) must have run only in a streight Line; but now by the help of Mountains they branch out into innumerable winding, and by these means not only visit and enrich the Soil of many different Countries, but furnish them with such a convenient Carriage as they could not be well without. These, and abundance more of Advantages, (not to mention those of Water-works) do we receive from the wile situation of Mountains, which some Men have so Tragically described, as if they design'd to bring an ill Report upon the good Works of the Creator, wherein they have discover'd an admirable Vein of Eloquence, and a most wonderful want of Philosophy at the same time.

^b *Quidve Animantium loquar adversus sese tutelam multiformem? alias armatas cornibus, alias dentibus septas, & fundatas unguis, & spicatas aculeis, aut pedum celeritate liberas, aut elatione pinnarum? Ipsa præcipue forma nostræ pulchritudo Deum fatetur Artificem, status rigidus, vultus eretus, oculi in summo, velut in speculâ constituti, & omnes ceteri sensus velut in arce compositi.]* As Cæcilius arm'd himself chiefly from Tully, so from Tully too, Octavius thought it best to disarm him, the Objections and Answers are taken mostly from the same Quiver; and therefore I have generally set down the Passages alluded to, where the Commentators have not. Thus then we find it in Tully, *Animantium vero quanta varietas est? quanta ad eam rem vis, ut in suo queque genere permaneant? quarum alia corris teles sunt, alia villis vestita, alia spinis hirsuta; alios plumâ, alias squamâ videmus obductas; alias esse cornibus armatas, alias habere effugia pinnarum;* de N. D. l. 2. c. 47. Thus again, cap. 56. after the words above mention'd, *humo excitatos, celsos, & erectos constituit,* he adds, *Sensus autem Interpretes ac nuntii rerum, in capite tanquam in arce, mirifice ad usus necessarios & facti & collocati sunt. Nam oculi tanquam Speculatores altissimum locum obtinent, &c.*

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I to travel thro' Particulars ; there is not any one ^h Part in Man, but is either necessary or ornamental. And what is still more miraculous, is to find a general Resemblance in all, and distinguishing Features in each ; so that the whole Species is alike, and yet not one individual without some discriminating Character. What think you of the manner of our Birth, and the Instinct of Generation ? Who but God cou'd turn the Course of Nature against such a Time, to fill the Breasts with ⁱ Milk for the ripening *Embryo*, and suckle the tender Infant with that Plenty of lacteal Dew ? Nor does God provide only for Universals, but takes care also of Particulars ; *Britain* is made amends with the warm ^k Vapours of the circumambient

^h *Nihil in homine membrorum est, quod non & necessitatis causa sit & decoris.*] This Proof of a God from the Structure of human Bodies, but just hinted at by our Author, is discours'd at large by *Tully*, de N. D. lib. 2. c. 54, &c. According to his constant Custom, with a World of Eloquence, and good Sense in abundance.

ⁱ *Ut ubera partu maturantur lactescant, &c.*] Thus again *Tully*, N. D. l. 2. c. 51. *In iis Animantibus qua latte aluntur, omnis fere cibus matrum lactescere incipit.* Not only this strange Provision of Milk for the *Fetus* by an extraordinary Course of Nature, but the different Structure of its Heart from that in adult Persons, the amazing Art in the Position of its Parts in the *Uterus*, that their Situation shou'd be such as to make the Head emerge out of the Fluid, it lies in with the Face towards its Mother's Belly, and about the time of Delivery, that the Head shou'd become the heaviest Part in the Body, whereby 'tis tumbled over, and acquires a Posture most proper for its coming into the World. These, I say, are such manifest and glaring Instances of divine Counsel and Foresight, that 'tis no wonder the *Fetus* shou'd be singl'd out for a Proof of a Deity.

^k *Britannia sole deficitur, sed circumfluentis maris tepore recreatur.*] That we of *Great Britain* enjoy such a Share of Heat at so great a distance from the Sun is, indeed another marvellous Instance of an

cum ambient Sea for its deficiency of Sun. *Nile* serves *Egypt* for Rain, *Euphrates* cultivates *Mesopotamia*, and *Indus* is said both to water and sow the East with the Seeds it discharges into it. Shou'd you chance to go into a¹ House, and see all the Rooms exquisitely furnish'd, and kept in great order, you wou'd make no dispute but such a House was under the Care and Inspection of a Master, and that he himself was preferable to all the Furniture. Thus in this Palace of the World, when you cast your Eyes upon Heaven and Earth, and behold the admirable Order and Oeconomy of Things, you have as little reason to question whether there is a Lord of the Universe, and that he himself is more glorious than the Stars, and more to be admir'd than the Works

All-wise Architect, tho' not so much for the Reason here assign'd, and borrow'd from *Tully*, as *Woxerius* has observ'd, as from the Obliquity of the Ecliptick to the *Aæquator*. From hence it is, that we who are beyond the Forty fifth Degree of Latitude, and therefore stand in great need of the Sun's Heat, have more of it, take all the Year abour, than if the Sun had continually mov'd in the *Aæquator*; and those who live in the *Torrid Zone*, or thereabouts, and consequently too much expos'd to the Sun, feel less of his Heat by this Obliquity, than they wou'd have felt, had the Earth observ'd a right Position. For the Demonstration of this, I refer the Reader to the learned Mr. Keill's Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory of the Earth, pag. 71. &c. Now of all the infinite variety of ways possible, the pitching upon that which is demonstrably the best for every thing upon Earth, viz. The present Situation of the Axe of the Earth to the Plane of the Ecliptick, this certainly is a demonstrative Argument of an infinite Wisdom and Goodness, which has consulted for us all, the best way possible.

¹ Quod si ingressus aliquam domum, omnia exculta, disposita, ornata vidisses, utiq; praesesse ei crederes Dominum, &c.] In allusion to that of *Tully*, si Domum magnam, pulchramq; videris, non prissis aduci, etiamsi Dominum non videas muribus illam & mustelis adificatam pures? N. D. l. 2. c. 6.

of

of his own Hands. But perhaps you may have no Scruples concerning a providence, but only whether the Heavenly Government is lodg'd in one or a Plurality of Deities; and this is easily decided, if you'll give your self but the Trouble to look abroad into the Kingdoms of the World, from which you may collect the Regimen or Form above. For when did you ever know any Copartnership in a Kingdom commence with Integrity, or conclude without Blood? Not to mention the Grandees of *Persia*, who consulted the Neighing of a Horse in the Election of Kings, nor to revive the old Story of the *Theban Pair* dead and gone; the fatal Dissention of the *Roman Brothers* for a Kingdom of Shepherds, and Shepherds Sheds, is famous all the World over. The Wars of *Father and Son in Law*, *Cæsar and Pompey* shook the Earth, and all the *Roman Empire* was not big enough to hold two Men. See Examples of another kind; the Bees have but one King, and the Flocks and Herds but one Leader; and can you imagine two Supremes in Heaven, and that Almighty Power is divisible? Since 'tis manifest, that God the Universal Parent, has neither Beginning nor End; but gave Beginning to All, and Eternity to himself; who before the World was, was a World to himself, who commands all Things by his *Word*, and dispenses them by his Wisdom, and consummates them by his Power. This God is invisible, because of his Brightness inaccessible; and not tangible, because incorporeal; and incomprehensible, because

too great for our Capacity ; infinite, ^m immense, and this Immensity intelligible by himself only. Our Intellect is too narrow to contain him, and therefore we never conceive so worthily of him as when we conceive him unconceivable. Shall I speak my Sense of this matter ? Whoever imagines that he knows the divine Majesty, lessens it ; and whoever does not lessen it, can never pretend to know it. Inquire not his Name, for God is his Name, and there only we use Names, where many Individuals are to be distinguish'd by their proper Appellations ; but to God, who is but one, the Name of God is all in all ; for if I call him Father, you forthwith conceive of him, as an Earthly Parent ; if King or Lord,

^m *Infinitus, Immensus, & soli sibi, tantus quantus est, notus.*] There is nothing more certain, than that our Minds are circumscrib'd and limited, as well as our Bodies ; and therefore 'tis as impossible to comprehend God in our finite Capacities, as to grasp the World in our Hands. *Finites* and *Infinites* do not only differ in Degree, but *toto genere*, are of a quite different Nature ; for no finite Addition of *Finites* can make an *Infinite*, nor is there any assignable Proportion between them ; we may understand their *relative* Nature, or the finite Relations of *Infinites* to one another, but the *positive* Nature of *Infinites* is absolutely incomprehensible by any Understanding, but that of God himself ; and therefore, if it was fitting to say, what the Allmighty, Infinite, Immense Being cannot do, we might say, he cannot make a Creature to comprehend himself. In all our Inquiries then, wherever Infinity in its absolute Nature and positive Qualities is imply'd, we have nothing to do but to leave the Matter as we found it. And accordingly in Matters of Faith of this Kind, our Busines is first impartially to examin whether such and such things be reveal'd or no, and then to submit our Reason to Revelation, and not to shew our selves such proud Fools as to strain our finite Intellects after that which is intelligible only to the infinite Mind ; for then we conceive most worthily of God, when we conceive him incomprehensible, or in our Author's words, *ideo sic eum dignè estimamus, dum inestimabilem dicimus.*

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your Fancy clothes him with such Ideas as those Words stand for with Men. Take but away this human Covering of Words, and you'll see the divine Nature the better. Moreover, have I not all the World on my side in the Acknowledgment of this one God? I hear the People when they lift up their Hands to Heaven, say nothing else, but "The God, The great

" *Audio vulgus, cum ad cælum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quam Deum dicunt, & Deus magnus est, & Deus verus est, & si Deus dederit. Vulgi iste naturalis sermo est, an Christiani consitentis oratio?*] These are the Words of Tertullian in the foregoing Apology, and in his Book de Testimon. An. 'tis the Argument also of Justin Martyr, St. Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, which they all use, certatim, as Mr. Davies says, for the Proof of the one supreme God; And yet after all these venerable Authorities, this ingenious Person, I am sorry to say it, with the usual Air of his admir'd le Clerc, thus magisterially determines, *Quâ in re fallitur Justinus cum ceteris.* And all the Reason for so much Assurance is taken out of Arnobius himself, lib. II. p. 89. the better to expose the thing, and make Arnobius disprove here what he had been proving, pag. 43. The words argu'd from are these, *Dii certi certas apud vos (Ethnicios) habent tutelas, licentias, potestates, neq; eorum ab aliquo id, quod ejus non sit potestatis ac licentia, postulatis.* This he confirms from A. Gell. lib. 2. c. 28. where 'tis said, that not knowing the God that presided over Earthquakes, *Ferias ejus rei causâ editio imperabant, sed Dei nomen, ita uti solet, — Statuere & edicere quiescebant, ne alium pro alio nominando, falsâ religione Populum alligarent.* From whence he roundly concludes, that the Christian Writers above nam'd were all mistaken, and le Clerc only to be minded, who by the Name of the God, &c. understands that particular God, *Qui agendis rebus preest,* who preside over those things for which the People address'd, *ut pulchre animadvertisit eruditissimus Joan. Clericus, Art. Crit. P. II. S. I. c. II, 10.* The Sum of the Argument on Mr. Clerc's side, and his Admirer Mr. Davies, then is this: By order of the chief Pontiffs it was decreed, that no God but of such a Name, and such a Cure or Province, shou'd be address'd to by the People for the Things under his particular Jurisdiction, therefore none but some such Particular God is to be understood here, by the Name of *The Great God, the True God, &c.* The Fathers on the other side argue thus, The general Voice of the People is the Voice of Truth, as being the Dictate of Nature; but the People gene-

great God, The true God, and if it shall please God. This Expression in the Vulgar, is the Voice of Nature; and is it not also the Confession

generally cry out *The God, The great and true God*, notwithstanding this Order to the contrary, therefore there is such a God. But for the fuller Vindication of the *Fathers* in this Point, I ask the Reader's Patience whilst I enquire into two Things, *First*, Concerning the Truth of the Fact: *Secondly*, the Force of the Argument. These *Fathers* then all speak of it as a known common Matter of Fact, of which certainly they were better Judges, both as to the Practice and the meaning of it, than *le Clerc* or *Mr. Davies* can be, as living at that time, and having been Heathens themselves. And that this was a very familiar Form of Prayer among the vulgar *Pagans*, we are aslur'd also from *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, p. 286. where we have the Reason of it likewise, namely, because the one supreme God was more universally believ'd throughout the World in all Ages, than the many inferior Gods. The words are these, ἡτοὶ περιστῶν ἀρχὴν τὰς τροπές οὐ μόνον εἰς, καὶ θεὸν τὰς ἀνθερπτοὺς ἐπικαλέσοντον. Θεὸς δὲ εἰς μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τροπάς απὸ αὐτῆς εἰς τὰς τροπές, καὶ τὰς τροπές εἰς αὐτῶν καταφαίνει τὸ εὖ τὸ πλάνθες. Thus all Religions and Sects concur in the Confession of one First or Supreme Principle, and all Men invoke the God for their Helper, but that there are Gods after or below this highest Principle, and that the Care of the Universe is devolv'd upon them, is a Notion which all Sects do not believe; and the Reason of this, is, because this one God or Unity appears more evident than a Plurality or Multitude of Gods. We learn likewise from *Arrianus* his *Epicetus*, lib. 2. c. 7. that the very Form of Prayer so long in use in the Christian Church, Κύει εἰλένσον, Lord have mercy upon us, was anciently used by some Heathens, either amongst the Greeks or Latins, or both; for thus saith *Epicetus*, Καὶ θεὸν ἐπικαλέμενος, δέομενα αὐτῷ, Κύει εἰλένσον. when we call upon God, we pray to him after this manner, Lord have mercy upon us. And *Jamblichus* in his Life of *Pythagoras*, p. 89. Speaks thus, δεῖν ὄμολοσεῖ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀσεβῶν ζητεῖν. 'Tis acknowledg'd on all sides, that we ought to ask every good thing of the Lord. Innumerable are the Instances which might be given of the Heathens praying to the one supreme God; I shall mention one or two only out of *Epicetus*, not so much for the proof of the Fact, as the admirableness of the Devotion. Lib. 2. c. 16. τὸ λυπτὸν αὐτοῦ φέρεις τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν, &c. Dare to lift up thine Eyes to God, and say, use me hereafter as thou pleasest, thy Will be mine, I am indifferent to all things; I refuse nothing that shall seem good to thee; Lead me whither thou pleasest; Let me tell what Part thou wilt, either

fession of Christians? And they who make *Jove* the Supreme Deity, mistake indeed in the Name, but agree in the Thing, in the Notion of one Almighty.

XIX. I

of a publick or private Person, of a rich Man or a Beggar. He acknowledges it to be a Duty also χάριν τοῖς πανταῖς τῷ Θεῷ,
To thank God for all things. And again, εἰ νῦν εἰχόμεθα, &c. Had we Understanding, what shou'd we do else, both in publick and private, but praise God, bleſs him, and return Thanks to him? Ought not those who dig, and plow, and eat, continually to sing such a Hymn to God as this? Great is that God who gave us these Instruments to cultivate the Earth withal? Great is that God who gave us Hands, &c. But the divinest Hymn of all is this, To praise God for the Faculty of Understanding all these things. If I were a Nightingal I would perform the Office of a Nightingal,—But now being a Reasonable Creature, 'tis my Duty to celebrate and sing aloud the Praises of God. Once more, Φέα μέμυνσο, διεῖνον ἐπικαλέσθων τῷ πατέρι,
Διοσκύρου εἰ χειρὶ οἱ πλεόνες. Remember the God, call upon him as thy Helper and Assistant, as the Mariners do upon Castor and Pollux in a Tempest. Vid. Epict. l. 4. c. 7. l. 1. c. 16. l. 2. c. 18. Thus much I hope may serve to shew that the Fathers were not mistaken, when they urg'd, that the *Heathens* address'd frequently the Supreme God only. What the Fathers wou'd argue from this Fact, in short is this, that as every Animal in cases of Necessity, is by natural Instinct directed to proper Places of refuge, as the *Psalmist* speaks, *The high Hills are a Refuge for the Wild Goats, and the Rocks for the Conies*, Ps. 104. 18. so do Mankind by the like Instinct naturally fly to the *One supreme God* in time of need; and therefore he is the only Helper and Defender. I come now to *Joannes Clericus*, so often and so highly celebrated by Mr. Davies and others; and I do say that no Man can have a very good Opinion of this *Censor Patrum*, who has a just Reverence for the holy Scriptures, and the best Writings next to them, the Writings of the Primitive Fathers; but learned Men of late have been at some Pains to give him due Correction for his bold and dishonest Treatment of both these; and his special Spite, and studied Ignorance are two *Criteria*, like the *Aſſe's Ears*, that will discover *Phereponus* under any Disguise. But tho' this mighty Man of late, is so averse to be determin'd by the old Fathers in Matters of Faith and Practice, which they, by reason of their Familiarity with them, may be presum'd to understand better than any modern Heterodox Critic; yet in Matters of Philosophy, which are capable of Improvement, tho' Divinity is not, and where considerable Advancements of Learning have certainly been made by *Moderns*, he is so croſs-grain'd

XIX. I find the Poets likewise singing of one Sovereign Deity, *Father of Gods and Men*, and who fashion'd our Souls according

as to apply rather to the foregoing, than to the present more knowing Age. Thus in his Account of the Nature and Growth of *Gold* and *Silver*, *Phys. l. 2. c. 4.* instead of giving his Reader that satisfactory Account which he might have found in late Travels and Journals, or even among the Merchants upon the Exchange, he puts him off, as he does upon divers other Subjects, with a tedious Account that he finds in old Pliny's *Natural History*; and yet as trivial as that is, it may be of more use, than when he speaks his own Sence, if it be always as mistaken as that is, *Se^t. 25.* of this Chapter, where he tells us, *That Silver is the next heavy Metal to Gold*; tho' every Body, but this Naturalist, knows *Lead* to be heavier. He also declares, *lib. 2. cap. 8. se^t. 23.* That he had rather stick to the very false absurd Account, which he from *D. Cartes* gives of the *Flux and Reflux* of the Sea, than be troubled to understand that most clear and demonstrative one, which our great Sir *J. Newton* has so lately oblig'd all *Searchers* into Nature withal, except Mr. *Clerc*, who will still have *Spring-Tides*, occasion'd by the *Moon* being in her *Perigeum* only at *New* and *Full*; tho' any *modern Astronomer* can assure him, that her *Perigaeum* happens in all Points of her *Orbit*, and at all Ages, as well as at *Conjunction* and *Opposition*; and yet the highest *Tydes* are always at *New* and *Full*, if other Causes do not alter the Course. I shall give Mr. *Clerc's Admirers* but one more Instance of his extraordinary Reasoning, but that is a *swinger*, and they may find 'it, *lib. 1. c. 8. se^t. 15.* Where he concludes, that the *Moon* doth not move about her own *Center*, (he means her *Axe*) because she always shews the *Earth* the same *Phasis*; whereas from the sameness of *Appearance* he ought to have concluded just the contrary. For every one who has, I will not say *Astronomy*, but close Thoughts about him, knows that 'tis Demonstration that she cannot shew always the same Side, except she revolves once round her *Axe* in her *Period*. Great *Criticks* till they well understand their Profession, and the Subjects they write upon, shou'd, methinks, take the Words of the *Fathers* in *Divinity*, and of the *Moderns* in *Philosophy*, rather than by an Overforwardness to judge, make no greater Discoveries than of their own Ignorance and Conceit. I have given these Specimens of Mr. *Clerc's Mediocrity*, to prevent young *Students* from believing him too fast in any Sorts of Learning, he pretends to; and since he has written so much to expose the best of *Men*, and to make the World but the worse by his Writing, I think I may justly say of him, as *Tully* did of *Epicurus*, *Ludimur ab Homine, non tam faceto, quam ad scribendi licentiam libero.* *De N. D. l. 1. c. 44.*

to his own Will and Pleasure ; what says *Virgil* of *Mantua*? Does not he yet speak more plain, and nearest to Truth ? *In the Beginning* (says he) *a Spirit quicken'd Heaven and Earth*, and all the Parts of the Universe, and *a Mind infus'd actuated the whole Mass, the Author of Men and Beasts, and every Animal.*

• Spiritus intus alit, & infusa Mens agitat.

[— *Deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.*]

There were two very different Opinions about this Point? *Plato* held God to be a *Spirit diffus'd thro' the Universe*, but *ε&v̄i μεμιγμένον*, that he did *τὸν νόον τὸν περισυλλαγικὸν τὸν ιώνα*, govern all things by permeating every Thing, but *επιγίως*, without mixing with any Thing ; that he was called *δίκαιος*, *quasi τὸν νόον διαιτῶν*, pervading all Things, the Letter *Kappa* being taken in *cūσοπιας ἔνεα*, for better Pronunciation only. *Vid. Cratyl.* p. 413. And this Notion I take to be agreeable to that of the *Apostle*, *in him we live and move, and have our Being*. The other Opinion held by the *Stoicks* was, that the whole Universe was not only animated by, but united to one common Soul, and that this *Animal of a World* is God. *Stoici* (says *Tertullian*) *volunt Deum sic per Materiam decuruisse, quomodo Mel per Favos*. The *Stoicks* will have God to run thro' Matter, as *Honey runs thro' the Combs*. Thus again, *Varro* in *St. Austin. Civ. D. l. 7. c. 6.* gives us his own Sense, and that of the *Stoicks* also in this Case, *sicut hominem sapientem cum sit ex Corpore & Animo, tamen ab animo dici sapientem, ita Mundum Deum dici ab animo, cum sit ex animo & corpore*. Now looking upon God under this View, as intimately pervading the Universe, and mixing with it, and so making one infinite *Animal*, as Soul and Body make one Man, they concluded they might worship him in all his several Parts and Members ; not that they took these Parts or Portions for so many Gods, but only that the *Mundane Soul* was united to them All. Accordingly *Balbus* in *Cicero* thus explains himself, *Quarum rerum, quia vis erat tanta, ut sine Deo regi non posset, ipsa Res Deorum nomen obtinuit*. *Nat. Deor. lib. 2.* and *Pliny*, no great Friend to the Notion of a Deity, thus accounts for the worshipping of him in the several Creatures and Portions of the Universe, *Fragilis & laboriosa Mortalitas in Partes istas digesta, Infirmitatis sue memor, ut Portionibus quisque coleret, quo maxime indigeret*. *Nat. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 7.* *Frail and wearisome Mortality, has thus crumbled the Deity into Parts, mindful of its own Infirmity, that so ev'ry one might worship him in such Portions as he himself stood most in need of.*

The

The same Poet in another place calls this Mind and Spirit, God ; his Words are these,

— *Deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasq; tractusq; maris, cælumq; profundum ;
Unde homines & pecudes, unde imber & ignes.*

*Earth, Heaven, Sea, all Natures vast Abyss
Does God pervade and fill.
Hence Man, and Beast ; Storm, and red Light-
ning hence.*

And what other God do we Christians preach up, than Mind and Reason and Spirit ? Let us run over the Doctrine of the Philosophers, if you please, and you'll find them, tho' differently expressing themselves in Words, yet as to the Thing, all conspiring in one and the same Opinion. I omit the ancient Wise Men of Greece, deservedly so call'd upon the account of their Sayings ; let *Thales* the Miletian, the Principal of them, serve for the rest, who was the first that discours'd accurately concerning Heavenly Matters. This same Miletian *Thales* affirm'd Water to be the Principle of Things ; but withal, that God was that Mind which form'd every Being out of this Fluid into a World. But let me tell you, this account of ^P Water and the Spirit was a Notion

^P *Ego altior & Sublimior aquæ & Spiritus ratio, quam ut ab homine potuerit inveniri, a Deo tradita.*] *Thales* of Miletus, or as others think, a Phænician, was the Founder of the Ionick Order, he spent most of his time in Egypt, in the Study of Philosophy, and is reported to have convers'd there not only with the Jews, but particularly with the Prophets, from whom in all probability (as our Author concludes) he had this Notion of the Origin of the World

tion far above the reach of any Mortal, had not God, who was that Spirit, reveal'd it to *Moses*. Thus you see how the principal Philosopher exactly concurs with us Christians. After him *Anaximenes*, and then *Diogenes* Sur-named *Apolloniates*, make God of a Nature Aerial, Infinite and Immense. These then agree with us in the Doctrine of One God. The God of *Anaxagoras*, is an Infinite Mind that disposes and puts every Thing in Motion;

from Water and the Spirit, a Notion above the Reach of mere Mortal Invention. But the Origin of All things from Water, both Aristotle and Plutarch ascribe to *Homer* before him, from this Verse,

Ωκεανὸν δὲ πᾶσαν θύεσσιν πάντες τέτυκτο.

After much Travel and Study in Egypt, he is said in his old Age to have returned and settled at *Miletus*, and propagated this Philosophy. *Vid. Euseb. prepar. Evang. lib. 14. cap. 13. lib. 10. cap. 4.* 'Tis true, indeed, that Aristotle reckons him as *ἀρχηγός τῶν φιλοσοφίας*, the Ringleader of the Hylopathian Atheists, as deriving all Things from Water only, as *Homer* had done before him, not excepting the very Gods,

Ωκεανὸν τε θεῶν θύεσσιν καὶ μητέρα τηθεῖ.

But Aristotle was no very fair Dealer with the Reputations of Philosophers, and he has contradicted himself in the Character of *Thales*, as to his being an Atheist; *de An. lib. 1. c. 8.* where he speaks of him as a Theist in these Words, *καὶ εἰ τοῦ ὄλων δέ τινες φυχὴν μεμιχθεῖ φασίν. ὅπερισσως καὶ Θαλῆς αἵθιν πάντα πάλιγνον θεῶν εἴδε*. Some say, that Soul or Life is mingled with the Universe, and thence perhaps it was, that Thales imagin'd that all Things are full of Gods. Besides, *Laertius* and *Plutarch* give him the Character of the first Assertor of the Soul's Immortality; and *Tully* speaks of him in these Words, *Thales enim Milesius, qui primus de talibus rebus quæsivit, aquam dixit esse initium rerum, Deum autem eam Mensem, quæ ex aquâ cuncta fingeret. De Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 10.* The rest of the Philosophers mention'd in this Section are so many, that a tolerable Account of their Tenets wou'd not come within my compass, and therefore I refer the Reader first to *Cicero, de N. D. lib. 1.* from whence our Author has manifestly described them; and if he desires farther Satisfaction, he may consult *Euseb. Prep. Evang.* and *Cudworth's Intellectual System*.

and

and the God of *Pythagoras*, is a Mind that permeates and takes care of the Universe, and is the Original of all Life. *Xenophanes* is well known to have defin'd God to be an Animated Infinite. *Antisthenes* holds a Plurality of Gods over several Nations, but one only Deity Supreme by Nature. *Spensippus* is for that natural, animal Virtue, by which All things are conducted to be God. Does not *Democritus*, altho' the first Inventor of the Atomick Philosophy, does not he often speak of that Nature, which is the Author of those Images and intentional Species, by which we understand, and feel, and see, &c. as God? *Strato* likewise sets up Nature for God. Even your famous *Epicurus*, who makes either Unactive, or no Gods, Deifies Nature. *Aristotle* is at variance with himself, however, he assigns one Sovereign Power; for one while he calls Mind God, another while the World he will have God, and then again he makes God above the World. *Heraclides of Pontus* reels about in the same manner, however, he ascribes a Divine Mind to God, or else to the World, or else makes a pure Divine Mind itself to be God. *Theophrastus*, and *Zeno*, and *Chrysippus*, and *Cleanthes*, tho' all at difference, yet at the long run they all meet in the Notion of one Providence that superintends the World. For *Cleanthes* sometimes makes God to be a Mind, sometimes a Soul, sometimes *Aether*, and sometimes Reason. His Master *Zeno* makes the Natural and Divine Law in Things to be God, and sometimes *Aether*, and sometimes Reason, to be

the Fountain of all. This same Philosopher, methinks, by calling *Juno* Air, *Jupiter* Heaven, *Neptune* Sea, *Vulcan* Fire, and all the rest likewise of the Popular Gods, Elements, by such Names severely confutes, and lashes the Publick Vanity of worshipping such Deities. *Chrysippus* says much the same Things, for he believes God sometimes to be a Divine Energy, a Rational Nature, and then again the World, and then fatal Necessity ; and copies after *Zeno* by interpreting the Fables of the Gods in the Verses of *Hesiod*, *Homer* and *Orpheus* into Natural Principles. And *Diogenes* the *Babylonian*, expounds the lying in of *Jove*, and the Birth of *Minerva*, and such like Fictions, not of the Gods, but of Nature. *Xenophon* the Disciple of *Socrates*, affirms the form of the true God to be invisible, and therefore not to be search'd after. *Aristo* of *Chios* affirms him likewise to be incomprehensible, and both the one and the other understood the Divine Majesty best, by despairing to understand it. But of all the Philosophers, *Plato* deliver'd himself the plainest and truest of God, of Things, and Names ; and his Discourses had been purely Divine, had he not sometimes comply'd too far with the Vanities of the Age, and allay'd them with the Errors in Fashion. This same ¹ *Plato* therefore in his

Timæus

* *Platoni itaque in Timæo Deus est — quemq; invenire difficile, prænimiâq; incredibili potestate, qd cum inveneris, in publicum dicere impossibile prefatur.*] The Passage refer'd to in *Plato's Timæus* stands thus, τὸντινον καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς εἰς ταῦτα αἰδησάντοις λέγειν. That as it is difficult to find out the Maker and Father

Timæus says, that by the Name God, we are to understand the Parent of the World, the Architect of the Soul, and the Maker of Hea-

Father of the Universe, so likewise when found, cou'd be not be declared to the Vulgar. This Passage we find quoted both by *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* in the foregoing Apologies. And herein *Plato* seems to insinuate, that it was not fitting to acquaint the People with the true Nature of God; and so *Tully* seems to have understood these Words when he said, *Plato, quid sit omnino Deus, anquiri oportere non censeat.* It was a *Catholick* Opinion among the Philosophers, that *Pious Frauds* were good Things, and that the People ought to be impos'd on in Matters of Religion; accordingly we find the *Roman Pontif Scævola* in *St. Austin* declaring in this manner, *expedire existimat falli in Religione Civitates, &c.* and his Reason for this Expedient is, That tho' the *Philosophic Divinity* was the True one, yet it contain'd many *Secrets* which would be very hurtful for the People to be acquainted with, namely such as these, *Quod verus Deus nec sexum habeat nec etatem, nec definita Corporis Membra, &c.* That the True God had neither Sex nor Age, nor Bodily Members; That *Hercules* and *Æsculapius, &c.* were not Gods, but Men. And *Varro* in his Book of Religions, publickly maintain'd the same Doctrine, *multa esse vera, quæ vulgo scire non sit utile, &c.* That there were many Things true which were not convenient for the Populace to know, as likewise many Things false, of which it was expedient they shou'd think otherwise; and therefore the Greeks enclos'd their *Teletæ, or Mysteries* within Walls, and kept 'em with all the Secrecy they cou'd. From these, and such like Instances it is, that the Author of the History of Religion, and such false Accusers of their Brethren, pick up their Account of Priest-craft, and conclude without distinction, that Priests of all Religions are the same; that is, all those Primitive Bishops, Priests and Deacons, who were sure to get nothing by their Priest-craft, but Death and Torments worse than Death, were the same with those of later Days who talk so much of Priest-craft, and set up Indulgences, Images, Prayers in an unknown Tongue, and all the other Arts of Ignorance and Delusion; and yet the Cry is still Priest-craft without distinction; tho' they may as well say of us, what was said of the Primitive Christians, that we have Dogs ty'd to Candlesticks, and commit Incest, and eat up Children in the Sacrament, as that our Craft is to keep the People in Darkness. We profess the same Truth as simply and plainly, as the Fathers did, and condemn imposing upon the People in matters of Religion as much as *St. Austin* did, who upon the Doctrine of *Scævola* and *Varro* before-mention'd, says, *It was a Doctrine that gratify'd the Evil Demons very much, who by this means cou'd tyrannize as well over the Deceivers, as the Deceived.*

The Octavius of

ven and Earth ; whom it is hard to understand by reason of his incredible Immensity of Power, which is too much for Human Intellect ; and when we do come to the Knowledge of Him, 'tis impossible to make our Nations intelligible to All. And we Christians almost say the same Things, for we are come to the Knowledge of this true God, and we also call him the Parent of all Things ; nor do we preach these Divine Mysteries in Publick, but when the ^f Publick calls us in Question about our Religion.

XX. I have now run over the Opinions almost of all the Philosophers, those of Note, especially, whereby 'tis evident, they all declare for one God, tho' under different Denominations ; insomuch, that ev'ry one must conclude, either that the ^f Christians now are Philosophers,

[Nunquam publicè nisi interrogati prædicamus.] The several Sects of Philosophers had the Privilege of Publick Schools to propagate their Opinions in ; but the poor Christians had no such Toleration, and therefore never preach'd in Publick, but when they preach'd for their Lives before their Tribunals.

[Ut quivis arbitretur, aut nunc Christianos Philosophos esse, aut Philosophos jam tunc fuisse Christianos.] Excepting the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Invocation of one God by and thro' the Name of Jesus Christ, and the two Sacraments ; there is nothing that a Heathen Philosopher truly Virtuous cou'd stick at ; for the Gospel is such a lovely System of Manners, and advances Morality to such noble Heights, both as to Degree and Extent, that upon mature Consideration they cou'd not but admire it in Idea, tho' Flesh and Blood might shrink at the Practice. And 'tis very observable, that *Seneca*, *Epicetus*, *Antoninus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, *Hierocles*, *Plotinus*, and the rest of the Philosophers who liv'd in the first Ages of the Gospel, wrote in a Diviner strain, and advanced the Duties to God, our Neighbour, and our selves, even to a pitch Evangelical, certainly much higher than those of their Sect that went before them ; witness that excellent Prayer with which *Simplicius*

con-

Iosophers, or that the Philosophers of old were Christians. If then, the World is govern'd by a Providence, and by one God, the weaker sort of Ancients charm'd and captivated with Fables, ought not surely to engage us in the same Errors, in spite of all the Arguments to the contrary, of the wisest Philoso-

concludes his Comment upon *Epidetus*; for first he here directs his Prayer to God, *The Lord and Father and Guide of our intellectual Natures*, Ινείδω σε, Διάσολα, ὁ πάληρε καὶ ἕγεμὼν τὸν ἡμῖν λόγον, to put us in mind of those excellent Faculties he has endued us with; and moreover, συμπρεξέαι τῷ φειδεῖ αὐτοκινῆσις ἡμῖν πρέστε καθαριστικὴ τὸ σώματόν καὶ τὸ άλόσων παθῶν, to co-operate with us his free Creatures towards the cleansing us from all Filthiness both of Flesh and Spirit. He prays likewise for this Divine Grace and Assistance, διὰ τοῦ τοῦ ἀληθείας φωτός, thro' the Light of Truth. If a Christian had pray'd thus, we must have understood by this Light of Truth, either through Christ, who calls himself the Truth and the Light; or rather thro' the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, who is said to teach us all Things; and those who are so taught by him, are styled φωτιζόμενοι, the Enlightened. The last Clause of this Heathen's Prayer is very remarkable, καὶ τὸ τείτον, τὸ Ζεῦς ινείδω ἀφελέτν τελέως τὸ ἄχλω τὸ ψυχικῶν ἡμῶν ὅμιλον, ὄφει γινάσκομεν εὖ. (xii. τὸ "Ομηρον") οὐ μὴ θέντι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδεγ. p. 331. And in the third place, I beseech my Saviour to take away perfectly the Cloud from off the Eyes of our Understanding, that we may see clearly (according to that of Homer) the Things that belong either to God or Man. Now this Prayer, which from the Mouth of a Christian, wou'd have been immediately understood as an application to the ever blessed Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, is a shrewd Sign to me, that as the elder Philosophers stole from Moses and the Prophets, so the latter did the same with Christ and his Apostles, and disguis'd their Theft with their καὶ τὸ "Ομηρον", as Homer has it, instead of the Gospel. For when Christianity made such a noise in the World, and got Ground daily, 'tis not likely but the Philosophers wou'd be prying into it, and raise their Notions to a higher pitch, in order to vye with the Gospel, and keep the Heathens from going over to it. But of this I have spoken elsewhere; I only add farther, that this Prayer of Simplicius is another Instance, which may be added to what I have urg'd against Mr. Davies and le Clerc, Sect. 17. n. 6. to shew, that the Fathers were not mistaken, when they affirm'd that the Heathens address'd frequently to the One Supreme God only:

phers

phers in all Ages. For our Forefathers were so easy of Belief, that they swallow'd the most incredible Monsters and Prodigies without Chewing, down went *Scylla* with all her Bodies, and *Chimæra* with all her Shapes, and the many-headed *Hydra* reviving from her fruitful Wounds; nor did they make any Bones of *Centaurs*, a strange Duplicate of Man and Horse; in a word, Fame cou'd not be better at Lying, than they at Believing. What think you of those old Women's Stories concerning the Metamorphoses of Men into Birds, and Beasts into Men, and Men again into Trees and Flowers? Which Feats, had they been ever done, might be done at present; but because

^t *Quæ si essent facta, fierent; quia fieri non possunt, ideo nec facta sunt.*] The *Metamorphoses* of Men into Birds, Trees, &c. so much celebrated in the Poets, are condemn'd here as fictitious; and for a Reason that more than once has been urged against the Miracles recorded in Scripture, namely, *That if such Miracles had been ever done, they might be done still; but because they can't be done now, they were never done at all.* Now, in answer to this Objection, it is to be consider'd first, that the end of Miracles is for the confirmation of some new Doctrine or Message as coming from God; the Doctrine then itself must be agreeable to the natural Notion of a Deity, or else no Miracles ought to make me believe it from God; for I am sure my natural Reason is from God, and this tells me that God is an All-wise, Just and Holy Being, who made me, and is to be serv'd and worshipp'd by me according to his Divine Nature; this, I say, is a Truth I am more certain of, than I am that such a thing is a Miracle, because I don't know the Extent of Natural Causes, and the Powers of Evil Spirits, and therefore no Miracles ought to prevail with me to worship God as an Unwise, Unjust, Unholy Being, because 'tis a Contradiction. Supposing then the Truth of the Poetical *Metamorphoses* above-mention'd; do the Poets pretend any new Doctrine to be confirm'd by these odd Transmigrations? Was the Doctrine agreeable to the Natural Notion of a Deity? Or were not their very Religious Rites and Worship very Abominations in the Opinion of their

because we see no such Things now, we believe they never were. Nor were our Ancestors one jot less simple, credulous and improvident,

their wisest Philosophers, and different Gods worshipp'd differently in divers Places. 2. These Changes of Men into Birds and Trees, &c. are fantastical and trifling, and grounded upon no credible Testimony. The Miracles of Christ, such as Feeding the Hungry, Curing all manner of Diseases, and Raising the Dead, and himself too from the Grave, according to his own Prediction, were not only mighty Works beyond the Power of any Being less than Almighty, and likewise done for the Confirmation of a Doctrine in ev'ry respect worthy of God and Man, but they were all Works of Mercy, and as convincing by their Goodness as Power, and withal done in the face of the World, and before his very Crucifyers; and continued by his Apostles, and their Successors, for two or three hundred Years after. But the Stories of the Poets, and the odd Fears among the Heathens, have none of these Characteristicks belonging to 'em. But then 3. Here was a Tryal of Skill and Power, a competition between the Gods of the Heathen, and the God of Christians; and therefore our Author's Reasoning is good, and he had just grounds to call in question the Stories in the Poets of turning Men into Birds and Trees, for if these Wonders were ever done by your Gods (says Minucius) they wou'd certainly do their best now, when their Deityships are in danger; but because they can do nothing now, but confess themselves Devils in the presence of their Worshippers, I believe the Metamorphoses you talk of were never done at all: This I take to be the force of his Reasoning. But for Miracles, I must confess, I cannot think them in themselves sufficient to make me believe a thing from God; for the Wonders of the Magicians seem to me as strange, and surpassing Nature, as the Miracles of Moses; tho' Moses had evidently the superior Power, because he out-did the Sorcerers, and they were not able to stand before him. Thus again for the confirmation of the Truth of Moses, and the fulfilling of that Religion, Christ renews his Conquests over the Kingdom of Darkness, casts out Devils, and does the Works that no Man can do, and all this for the best Religion imaginable; Christ therefore is in just Possession, and must reign over us, 'till a better Revelation, and more and greater Miracles than he and his Apostles did, or cou'd do, be produc'd against him. But then there is no manner of Reason in the World to expect a Succession of Miracles, after the Christian Doctrine and Worship has been so miraculously and fully settled, 'till another Doctrine of greater Perfection be set up against it, and greater Miracles wrought in Confirmation

vident, about the very Gods they worshipped ; for by paying a profound " Veneration to their Kings ; and wanting to see them again after Death in *Effigie*, and very desirous to detain their Memories in Marble, at length they turn'd these Monumental **Comforts** into Objects of Devotion. For before the World was open'd by Traffick, before Nations had intermix'd Rites and Customs, every Country ador'd its Founder, or some renowned General, or some Queen chaste and valiant above her Sex, or the Inventor of some useful Art, as a Citizen worthy so honourable a Remembrance. Thus they both shew'd their Gratitude to the Dead, and encourag'd the Living to the Practice of the same Virtues.

XXI. Read over the Writings of the Stoicks and other Sages, and you'll be soon of my

firmation of it ; because for the same Reason that I demand a Miracle this Day for the proof of one Article, I may demand another to Morrow for the proof of something else, and so on every Day and Hour of my Life ; and for the same Reason I must see a Man rais'd from the Dead, so must another, and so ev'ry unbeliever in the World ; and so we must continually converse with Ghosts, and such a Familiarity wou'd take off from the force and strangeness of Miracles, and the Resurrection of a Man wou'd be look'd upon no more than the Resurrection of the Spring, or the reviving of Swallows. But if they will not believe Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, neither will they believe tho' one arose from the Dead. Let an Unbeliever reflect whether he has liv'd up to the Light he has, before he asks for more.

" *Dum defunctos eos desiderant in Imaginibus videre, &c.]* The like Reasoning we find again in *Tully*, N. D. l. 1. sect. 15. *Perseus Zenonis Auditor, eos dicit esse habitos Deos, a quibus magna utilitas ad vita cultum esset inventa, — Quo quid absurdius quam aut res Fordidas — aut homines jam morte deletos, reponere in deos, quorum omnis cultus esset futurus in luctu.*

Opinion.

Opinion. * *Euhemerus* traces this matter particularly, and shews how Men were deify'd either upon the Account of their Courage or Invention; and tells you their Nativities, Countries and Sepulchers thro' every Province; namely, of *Dictæan Jove*, and *Delphic Apollo*, of *Pharian Isis*, and *Eleusinian Ceres*. *Prodicus* likewise tells us of Mortals taken up into the Number of the Gods, who in their Travels brought home some unknown Fruits from Foreign Parts for the Benefit of their Country. *Perseus* the Philosopher argues for the same Opinion, and withal adds, that these new Fruits went under the Names of the Inventors, according to that of the Comedian, ^y without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus grows cold.

* *Ob merita virtutis aut muneris Deos habitos, Euhemerus exse-
quitur, & eorum Natales, Patrias, Sepulchra, dinumerat.]* This
likewise is plainly in Imitation of *Tully*, N. D. l. i. sect. 42. Ab
Euhemero autem & mortes, & Sepultura demonstrantur Deorum.

^y *Ut comicus sermo est, Venerem sine Libero & Cerere frigere.]* I
have just now recited the Opinion of *Perseus* for making Gods
out of *Cicero*; but in his 2^d Book de N. D. cap. 23. we have this
very Proverb and the Reason of it explain'd in these words, *Quid-
quid enim magnam utilitatem generi afferret humano, id non sine divina
bonitate & a homines fieri arbitrabantur; itaq; tum illud quod erat a
Deo natum, nomine ipsius Dei nuncupabatur; ut cum fruges Cererem
appellamus, vinum autem Liberum, ex quo illud Terentii, sine Cerere &
Libero friget Venus; tum autem Res ipsa in qua vis inest major aliqua,
sic appellatur, ut ea ipsa vis nominetur Deus, ut Fides, ut Mens,
quas in Capitolio dedicatas videmus, &c.* Now here I cannot but
observe farther, that from hence it appears, that the wiser
Heathens wou'd never have digested the Doctrine of *Transub-
stantiation*, had that been an Article of Faith at that time. For
thus *Tully* delivers himself upon the Case, *When we call Wine Bac-
chus, and our Fruits Ceres, we make use of the common way of
speaking, Sed ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud quo vesca-
tur Deum credit esse?* But can you think any Man so arrant a Fool,
or so perfectly out of his Senses, as to imagine that which he eats to
be a God?

Alexander

Alexander the Great of Macedonia, in a large Account to his Mother, wrote word, that he had terrify'd the High-Priest out of the Secret of making Gods of Men. There he makes *Vulcan* the Prime God, and after him *Jove*, and his Generation; ^a see there the Swallow of

^a *Alexander ille magnus macedo, &c.] Rigaltius and some others are of a Opinion that our Minucius is out in his Alexander the Great of Macedonia, and that it was not he, but Alexander Polyhistor; but Athenagoras mentions this Epistle of Alexander, the Son of Philip to his Mother concerning the Priests way of making Gods of Men, and quotes a Passage out of Herodotus at the same time to the like purpose. Vid. Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis. p. 31. And the learned Bishop Fell (that judicious Admirer of the Primitive Divinity) in his Remarks upon St. Cyprian de Id. van. p. 12. Oxon. Ed. has sufficiently prov'd Rigaltius and his Followers out in their Conjecture. See more in the Comments of Mr. Davies.*

^t *In ye edition of Minutius Felix ad Hirundinem. Et de spicis Isidis ad birundinem, sistrum, &c. adpersis membris inanem tui Serapidis sive Osiridis tumulum.]* The Words in this Reading are hardly intelligible, much less Grammar, and the Comments both of Rigaltius and Salmasius seem extremely uncouth and violent, and therefore in the Translation I follow the Conjecture of Mr. Davies, who reads 'em thus, *Et adspice sis Isidis ad birundinem, sistrum.* There are so many various Accounts of this Isis and Osiris with his empty Tomb, that I will not trouble the Reader with 'em, but refer him to the Commentators upon this Passage, and likewise to Mr. Basnage's Supplement to Josephus, lib. 3. c. 18, 19. p. 216, 217. But that which I think more material, is, that there is a Text in *Isaiah* 18. 1, 2. dark and perplext, which this of Minucius perhaps may give some Light to; the Text is this, *Wo unto the Land shadowing with Wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia, that sendeth Embassadors by the Sea, even in Vessels of Bulrushes upon the Waters, &c.* This Text the learned Bochart in his Phaleg. translates thus, *V& terra cymbali orarum quae est trans flumina Chus, mittenti in mare imagines, idq; in vasis papyraceis super aquas. Wo be unto the Land of Timbrels with broad Edges, that is, Sistrums; by this dark Periphrasis (says Bochart) the Prophet undoubtedly sets forth Egypt, or Arabia Chusea.* And the Hebrew Word we translate *Wings*, signifies (saith he) the Extremity of any thing, ergo *Cymbalum orarum phasi Hebraeum Cymbalum est cuius in lateribus sunt or& seu Margines, id est, Sistrum.* For the Sistrum differs from the Cymbalum in this, that the Cymbalum is round, but the Sistrum Oval, cum certis oris seu Marginibus ex quibus appensa Tintinnabula hirundinem sistrum.

^b *Argutum*
So that if Dr Davies had consulted some other editions he need not to have made use of a conjecture.

of *Isis*, the Timbrel, and the empty Tomb of your *Serapis* you kiss'd so a while ago, with the Members lying scatter'd all about. Examin the sacred Rites and Mysteries, and there you'll find the sad Disasters, Fates, Funerals, Weepings and Wailings of your pitiable Deities. *Isis* with her *Cynocephalus*, and ^b shaven Priests, sighs, and sobs, and raves after her lost Son; and the Miserable *Isacs* thump their Breasts, and imitate the Passion of the unfortunate Mother; by and by, the Bantling is found, and then poor *Isis* again is as much out of her Wits with Joy, the Priests exult, and *Cynocephalus* the *Finder* triumphs. And thus the whole Business, the Year about, is either to lose what they find, or find what they lose; and is not this very fine, to bewail what you worship, and worship what you bewail? But these, tho' the Devotions of *Egypt* in times of yore, are now the worshipful ways of *Rome*.

argutum strepitum concusso edebant. — Nemo enim est qui Sistrum nesciat esse proprium sacrorum Isidis. Vid. Boch. Phal. lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 240. But now if it be evident from *Julius Firmicus de error. prophani. Relig.* p. 2. Seqq. That the Statue of *Isis* was carv'd with a little Bird upon her Head with Wings and Tail expanded, according to the Description here in *Minucius, Isidis ad Hirundinem*; then I ask only whether the shadowing with Wings in *Isaiah*, as we translate it, may not as well refer to the Swallow upon the Head of *Iisis*, as to the *Sistrum* in her Hand, and these the Images or *Embassadors sent by Sea in Vessels of Bulrushes*.

^b *Isis perditum filium cum Cynocephalo suo, & calvis Sacerdotibus luget, &c.*] The *Cynocephalus* I have described already, and her bald Priests *Juvenal* describes thus, *Sat. 6.*

Qui grege linigero circumdatus, & grege calvo.

And we are told, that there was a Law pass'd at *Memphis*, *ut Isidis Sacerdotes semper deras sint capite, utq; terriâ quâq; die corpus eradicant, & frigida abluant, ter die, noctu bñ.* Vid *Alexand. ab Alex. Tom. 2. lib. 6. p. 583.*

Ceres with a Serpent for her Girdle, and with lighted Torches in her Hands, goes penfive and proling about in quest of her ravish'd *Proserpina*; these are the *Eleusinian* Mysteries. And what, pray, are the Rites of *Jove*? Why, he has a Goat for a Nurse, and the Infant is stollen from his Father, for fear of being devour'd by his ungodly Gut; and the *Corybantes* are all the while playing upon their Cymbals, to drown the Cries of the bawling Brat. As for the Rites of *Dindymene Cybele*, I am really ashamed to mention 'em; who when the Blew of her Plum was off, and she was grown old and wrinkled, as well she might, being the Mother of so many Gods, and but a very indifferent Mistress in the Eyes of her Gallant, she disabled him, for the Rarity of an Eunuch-God. Upon the account of this Fable, the Gauls punish themselves with Castration to be qualify'd for her Priests; a woundy Worship indeed, where Execution passes for Religion! Besides, what strange Figures do you make of your Gods? 'tis perfect Mockery and making Fools of your Deities. There's *Vulcan*, a poor limping God; there's *Apollo*, after so many

[*Vulcanus claudus Deus & debilis: Apollo tot atatibus levius: Aesculapius bene barbatus, et si semper Adolescentis Apollinis Filius: Neptunus glaucis oculis, Minerva cæsiis, &c.*] Cicero sufficiently saw the Absurdity of retaining such a multitude of odd and helpless Deities in Worship; and accordingly ventures to expose 'em himself; and nothing more proper than for our Christian Apologist to copy after so wise a Heathen in ridiculing their Gods. For thus Tully does it, *N. D. l. i. Sect. 29.* *Jovem semper barbatum, Apollinem semper imberbum, cæsios oculos Minervæ, caruleos esse Neptuni; & quidem Athenis laudamus Vulcanum eum, quem fecit Alcamenes, in quo stante, atq; vestito, leviter appareat Clandicatio non deformis; claudum igitur habebimus Deum, &c.*

Years, without a Beard ; and yet smooth *Apollo's* Son *Æsculapius* with a very laudable Beard on ; there's *Neptune* with Eyes of Green, and *Minerva* of Sky-colour, and Goggle-ey'd *Juno* ; there's *Mercury* with winged Feet, and *Pan* with Hoofs, and *Saturn* with Fetters, and *Janus* with his two Faces, as if he always went backward ; there's *Diana* one while with her Paps girt up like a Huntress ; and then again, at *Ephesus* with Breasts like Towers ; and when she passes for an infernal Goddess, under the Title of *Trivia*, she is horridly branched out into three Heads, and Hands innumerable. How fares it with your own *Jove* himself ? Why, sometimes he has a Beard, and sometimes not ; when he is stiled *Jupiter* ^d *Ammon*,

he

^d Cum Hammon dicitur, habet cornua ; & cum Capitolinus, tunc gerit fulmina ; & cum Latianis, cruento perfunditur ; & cum Fere-trius, non auditur.] This *Jupiter Hammon* worship'd by the Egyptians was plainly *Cham* or *Ham*, the Son of *Noah*, as I have already shew'd ; his Temple and Idol is thus describ'd by *Lucan*, l. 9.

Ventum erat ad Templum, Libycis quod Gentibus unum,
Inculti Garamantes habent ; stat Corniger illuc
Jupiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmina vibrans,
Aut similis nostro ; sed tortis cornibus Ammon.

His Idol is called *Kερωπέωντος* or Ram-headed ; the Reasons why he is thus set forth, are said to be chiefly these three. First, The Sun was worship'd under the Title of *Ammon*, and was therefore set forth with the Horns of a Ram, because with Astronomers the Sign *Aries* in the Zodiac is the Beginning of the Year. Secondly, Because, as the Strength of horned Beasts lies in their Horns, so the Influence of the Sun is push'd into every thing below by its Beams. Thirdly, Because the Reflection of the Sun is Cornute or Hornlike. These perhaps may be Reasons with some, but to me, I confess, they seem very odd ones ; and therefore in all the Languages that I know any thing of, finding Strength and Power to be signify'd

he is honour'd with Horns ; when *Capitolinus*, he is arm'd with Thunder ; when *Latiaris*, he is besmear'd with Blood ; and when *Feretrius*, he is not minded. To make short on't, there are as many Monsters of *Jove*, as Names. *Erigone* dy'd by a Halter, to live a Virgin among the flaming Stars. *Pollux* and *Castor* die, to live by Turns. *Hesculapius* is struck down with Thunder to rise up a God ; and *Hercules* is scow'rd in the *Oetean* Flames from his human Dross into a Being Divine.

XXII. These are the Stories and Romances we learn from our ignorant Forefathers, and what is worse, which we our selves study to improve ; and especially by the Verses of the Poets, who have done their best by their

Repu-

by Horns, according to that of the *Psalmist*, *AN the Horns of the Wicked will I cut off, but the Horns of the Righteous shall be exalted*, I conclude the *Horns* of the Idol *Ammon* to be Emblems only of State and Magnificence. For 'tis said of *Moses*, when he came down from God, that *Aaron* and the People saw that his Face shined ; which the *Latin* translates, *Facies ejus erat cornuta, his Face was horned*. And hence it is, that *Moses* is painted with Horns ; but this Error, I suppose, grew from the Ambiguity of the *Hebrew* word, which signifies both Horns and Brightnes. *Cum Latiaris cruce perfunditur*. These humane Sacrifices you have particulariz'd in the foregoing Apology, and we find *Laetantius* declaring the like ; *de fals. Rel. l. i. Sect. 21. p. 50.* *Latiaris Jupiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano, & cum Feretrius non auditur*. The Derivation of *Feretrius* is known sufficiently, and largely explain'd by *Rigaltius* upon this place, and I follow him in the reading *aditur* instead of *auditur*, and for his Reasons there assign'd.

[*Has Fabulas — ab Imperitis discimus, — carminibusq; præcipue Poetarum, qui plurimum quantum veritati ipsa sua auctoritate nocuere.*] 'Tis experimentally certain that good Poetry upon ill Subjects has done great Mischief in the moral World ; for lewd Poets are the Devil's prime Ministers, a sort of Conjurers that raise

up

Reputation, to prejudice the Truth; for which Reason *Plato*, to his eternal Honour, banish'd the famous ^f *Homer*, with all his Lawrels, from his imaginary Commonwealth. For this is the prime Poet, who in the ^g *Trojan*

up such filthy Spirits in the Minds of Youth that can hardly be laid; the Poison goes down with Pleasure in that delightful Vehicle. The Abuses of this Art have been the Complaint of the Virtuous in all Ages; *Minicius* complains of it here, and so did *Tully* before him, *nec enim multo absurdiora sunt ea, qua Poetarum vocibus fusa, ipsa sua suavitate nocuerunt*, lib. 1. de N. D. sect. 16.

^f *Plato* ideo — *Homerum illum inclytum* — *de Civitate quam in Sermone instituebat, ejecit.*] With the like Concern for Virtue does *Tully* cry out against the Plague of Poets, in his *Tusculane Questions*, lib. 2. sect. 11. p. 368. *Sed videsne, Poeta quid mali afferrant?* — *Mollient animos nostros, ita sunt deinde dulces, ut non elegantur modo, sed etiam ediscantur; sic ad malam domesticam disciplinam, vitamq; umbratilim, & delicatam cum accesserunt etiam Poeta, nervos omnis virtutis elidunt;* *recte igitur a Platone educuntur ex ea civitate, quam fixxit ille, cum mores optimos, & optimum Reipublicae statum exquireret.*

^g *Hic enim praecepsus bello Troico Deos vestros, et si ludos facit, tam in hominum rebus & artibus miscuit.*] The rest of this Section is evidently in imitation of *Tully*, and *Tertulian*; the latter you have before you, and therefore I shall set down some Passages of *Tully* only, to this purpose.—*Accepimus enim Deorum Cupiditates, Aegritudines, Iracundias; nec vero, ut Fabula ferunt, Dii bellis preliisq; caruerunt; nec solum ut apud Homerum, cum duos exercitus contrarios alii Dii ex alia parte defenserent, sed etiam, ut cum Titanis, ut cum Gigantibus, propria bella gesserunt.* *Hoc & dicuntur, & creduntur stultissime, & plena sunt futilitatis, summaq; levitatis.* De N. D. l. 2. sect. 28. p. 421. Thus again, with reference to *Sarpedon*, the Instance before us, *Hoc sentit Homerus, cum querentem Jovem inducit, quod Sarpedonem filium a morte contra Fatum eripere non posset.* De Divinat. l. 2. sect. 10. p. 456. Thus were the wiser Philosophers fully convinc'd of the Vanity of the Gods they worshipped, and yet comply'd with the Worship; they were in great Perplexities about the Object and Manner of Worship, and the Rewards and Punishments of another World, till *Life and Immortality was brought to light thro' the Gospel*. They were just in the Condition of a wearied Traveller, who is sure he is in the wrong way, but cannot tell how to find the Right; which made *Cicero* cry out so passionately, *Utinam tam facile vera invenire possim, quam falsa convincere!* *O that I cou'd discover Truth with the same ease, as I detect Error!*

War concerns the Gods in the Affairs of Men, tho' he does it in Jest and Rallery. For he sets a Brace of Deities together by the Ears, he wounds *Venus*, and holds *Mars* in Chains, he puts the Goddess of Beauty to pain, and the God of War to flight. He sings of *Jove's* narrow Escape by the help of *Briareus*, when the rest of the Celestials had conspir'd to bind him ; and when he cou'd not deliver his Son *Sarpedon* from Death, how he wept in Showers of Blood. He tells likewise of *Venus's* enchanted Girdle to draw him from his Mistresses, and make him a kinder Husband to *Juno*. Sometimes *Hercules* is an Hostler, and *Apollo* a Shepherd to *Admetus* ; and *Neptune* *Laomedon's* Bricklayer, and bilk'd too of his Wages, poor Fellow. There we have the Thunder of *Jove*, and the Arms of *Aeneas*, forg'd upon the same Anvil ; as if the Heaven, and Thunder, and Lightning, were not in Being long before *Jove* was born in Crete, and as if he himself did not tremble at the true Thunder, which his *Cyclops* cou'd never imitate. Why shou'd I say a word of *Mars* and *Venus*, how they were caught in the very Act of Adultery ? or of *Jove's* Lewdness with *Ganymed*, for which good Service the Boy had a Consecration. All which were invented of the Gods, only to authorize Men in their Wickedness ; for by such pleasing Fables, and agreeable Inventions are the Minds of Boys tinctur'd and corrupted, and these early Opinions strengthen with their Years, till by this Means the Wretches grow grey under Delusion ; for tho' Truth is obvious

vious, yet must we open our Eyes to see it. The Greek and Latin Historians speak of *Saturn*, the Original of this Swarm of Deities, as a meer Man; *Nepos* and *Cassius*, *Thallus* and *Diodorus*, all acknowledge this. The same *Saturn* flying from *Crete* for fear of falling into the Hands of his cruel Son, arriv'd in *Italy*, and was kindly entertain'd by *Janus*, and being a dapper little *Grecian*, and a polite Mortal, instructed that rude and illiterate People in many things, particularly in the Art of Letter-making, and coining Mony, and keeping Registers. This place of Refuge, he call'd *Latium*, from his lying *Latent* here, and the City *Saturnia* after his own Name; and *Janus* call'd his City *Janiculum*; both for a Preservation of their Memories of Posterity. Thus then 'tis evident, he ran away like a Man, and sculkt about like a Man, like the Father and Son of a Man in all respects. For if he was call'd the Son of Heaven and Earth, it was only because his Original was unknown to the *Italians*, as we say of those who arrive unexpectedly, that they *dropt from the Skies*; and Men of ignoble or unknown Birth, we name *Sons of Earth*. *Jupiter*, his Son, after he had driven out his Father, reign'd in *Crete*, and begat Sons there and dy'd; and there both his Den, and his Sepulcher is seen, and shewn to this Day, and the very Rites, by which he is worshipped, argue him a Man.

XXIII. Twou'd be a very idle thing now to give out your Gods by retail, and particularly run thro' your whole Race of Deities;

for since we have prov'd the Fathers to be Mortals, we need not doubt of the Childrens succeeding to the same Mortality. This, I say, wou'd be very idle, had you not a senceless Trick of making Gods after death; and 'tis but ^b *Proculus's* forswearing himself, and *Romulus* is a God. And King *Juba* is a God too, if his Blackamoor Subjects will but have him so: However, that these and other Kings are consecrated into Gods, is not in good truth so much to make Men really believe 'em Dei-

^b *Pegerante Proculo, Deus Romulus.*] This Custom of Deifying Emperors and great Men, you find expos'd in all these Apologies; and the *Ceremoniale* of this *Apotheosis* in short was in this manner. The Emperor being dead, who was to be Deify'd, there was a Funeral Pile three Stories high erected, and bedecked with all the Pageantry of Pictures and Images, and at the expence of much Gold and Silver; and an Eagle, with the whole heap of Deities, placed at the Top. The *Effigies* of the Dead was laid upon a Bed of State made on purpose of Gold and Purple; and all the *Senate*, with the *Equestrian Order*, and the First Quality, carry'd about this Bed in Procession, with Hymns and all other Expressions of divine Honour, to the Funeral Pile; which being set on Fire, the Eagle is disturbed by the Smoak, and mounts up, and as the People were to imagin, took the Soul of the Emperour along with her, and conducted it to the Gods. See *Herodian's Description* of the *Apotheosis of Septimius Severus*, lib. 4. But besides all this, we find from *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and the *Apologist* before us, that there were certain Officers called *Proculi*, whose Place it was to make *Affidavit*, that they saw the departed Emperor's Soul thus convoy'd by the Eagle to Heaven. And they were called *Proculi*, (as I take leave to conjecture,) from one *Prosulus* a Noble-man; who upon a certain Occasion pretended to the People, that he saw the Apparition of *Romulus*, in the Form of a God. *Vid. Plut. in Rom.* One wou'd be apt to wonder how rational Creatures cou'd sink so low, as to sweat that they saw the Emperor's Soul thus carry'd up to Heaven by the Mouth of an Eagle; but when we see, not only *Popish*, but some *Protestant Priests*, Canonizing very odd Sort of *Saints*, and in their *Memoirs* and *Funeral Orations* extolling some great Men to Heaven without scruple, who had been much better pass'd over in Silence or good Wishes, we may well forbear to wonder at the *Proculi* amongst the *Heathens*.

ties,

ties, as to do 'em honour for their past Services. And I must tell you, this divine Preferment goes sorely against the Grain; they heartily desire to continue Men, they dread being made Gods, and had much rather stay here, with the Infirmitie's of old Age, than depart for a Consecration. Dead men therefore cannot be made into Gods, for the Deity cannot die, nor can any thing that is born be a God; for whatever is subject to be born, may cease to be; but that only is divine, which has neither Beginning nor End. For if Gods were born heretofore, why, I pray, may they not be born on still to this Day? Why, unless *Jupiter* is grown too old, and it ceases to be with *Juno* after the manner of Goddesses; and *Minerva* was past it, before she came to't; or did they leave off Geuerating, because Men left off believing it? But if the Gods got Children, they wou'd get 'em Immortal; and then we shou'd have Millions of Gods more than Men; more than Heaven, Air and Earth wou'd hold. From hence therefore we may well conclude those Gods to be certainly Men, whose Birth and Burial we are fully satisfy'd of. Who questions therefore, but such Gods are very much beholden to the Workman for the Worship of their Images? For simple People are caught with the Finery of the Figures; the Glitter of Gold, and Silver, and the pure white Ivory, dazzle 'em into Adoration. But wou'd any one be pleas'd to consider the Pains that are undergone, and the Engines that are employ'd in the Formation of Images, he wou'd

wou'd be ashame to stand in such fear of a thing, that the Hand of the Artist had been so long playing upon to make a God. For this wooden God, taken perhaps out of some old Faggot-Pile, or a piece of some forlorn Stump, is hung up, hewn, plain'd and rabotted; or if he be a Deity of Brass, or Silver, 'tis ten to one but he derives his Pedigree from some dirty Kettle or worse, which is often the Case of an *Egyptian* King; and then he is melted down, and maul'd with Hammers, and fashion'd upon Anvils; if he chance to be a God of Stone, then the Mallets and Chizels are set to work upon him, and some lewd Hand or other has the bringing him up to his divine Smoothness and Perfection; but as he is not sensible of any Hardships in making, so neither of your divine Honours, when made, unless perhaps when you have dub'd it a God, it ceases to be Stone, or Wood, or Silver any longer. But when, pray, does it commence divine? Behold, 'tis cast, fashion'd and fil'd; well, 'tis no God yet; behold, 'tis fodder'd, put together, and set upon its Legs; well, 'tis no God yet; behold, 'tis bedeck'd, consecrated, ¹ pray'd to; then, then at last behold a com-

ⁱ *Ecce ornatur, consecratur, oratur; tunc postremo Deus est, &c.]* The Form of Consecration among the Heathens you have largely describ'd by *Livy, decad. lib. 9.* and by *Valerius Maximus, l. i. c. 1. de Cultu Deorum.* The Idol was dress'd in its Pontificalibus, with a Censer of burning Coals plac'd before it, and the People all summon'd to see and attest, and give their Consent for the God that was to be; the *Emperor* or *Consul* was to assist at the Consecration,

compleat God, after Man has vouchsafed to make and dedicate him.

XXIV. How much better, do the dumb Creatures by the help of their Senses, judge of your Deities than you? The Mice, Swallows, Kites, have Sense enough to know that your Gods are senseless; for they trample on 'em, sit on 'em, and if you'd let 'em alone, wou'd make their Nests in the very Mouth of your God; Spiders spin upon his Face, and use his Sacred Head for a Block only to hang their Webs on. You wipe and clean, and scrape 'em, and fear what you make and protect. All which is owing to a general Stupidity, whilst not a Man of you looks upon it as his Duty, to consider and know the God, before he worships him; whilst all love to follow the Track of their Forefathers without Reflection, and choose to join in the Delusion with others, rather than believe their Senses, and judge for themselves, while they resolve to be ignorant of what they fear; thus Covetousness in truth is the Idol you serve under Images of Gold and Silver. This it is that makes empty Statues such worshipful Figures; hence all the *Roman* Superstition, whose Rites upon examination, you'll find ridiculous in most things, and pitiable in many. For some you'll

cration, with a Trumpeter, and the *Pontifex Maximus* going before and pronouncing the ancient solemn Words of Dedication, which *Livy* in the place above cited calls, *verba praeire*, not much unlike to what we have already observ'd upon *Tertullian's fine monitore*.

See

The Octavius of M.

see running about stark ^k naked the coldest Day in Winter ; others march with strange Caps upon their Heads, and stuck about with

~~ogbut, coldas, noldi, to qbd adi yd p~~ ancient

^k *Nudi crudā hyeme discurrent, &c.]* The *Lupercalia* are said to be first instituted in *Arcadia*, in Honour of *Pan* the God of Shepherds, but afterwards were brought into great Worship at *Rome*. They were solemniz'd upon the unfortunate Days of *February*. The Word *Lupercalia* implies as much as a Feast of Wolves, in Memory of *Romulus* and *Remus* who were nur's'd by a Wolf. The Priests called *Luperci* began their Procession from the foot of Mount *Palatine*, by the *Romans* called *Lupercal*, the place where the Wolf is said to have suckl'd *Romulus*. See *Servius* upon that of *Virgil*, *Aen.* 1. 8.

Et gelidā monstrat sub rupe Lupercal.

At this Festival, two Goats were slain, and two young Noblemen had their Foreheads besmear'd with the Blood ; that done, they cut the Goat's Skins into Thongs, and ran about the City stark naked, striking all they met. Hence that of *Virgil*,

Hinc exultantes Salios, nudosque Lupercos.

Vid. Serv. in Aen. 1. 8.

A Dog was likewise Sacrific'd at this time, as being an Enemy to *Romulus*'s Nurse, the Wolf ; and they ran about Naked, because *Pan*, to whom this Solemnity was offer'd, was so Painted. *Vid. Plut. in Romul.*

^l *Alii incedunt pileati, Scuta vetera circumferunt, pelles cædunt, Mendicantes vicatim Deos ducunt.]* These were the *Salii*, the Priests of Mars, so called à *saliendo*, from their Dancing. The occasion of this Institution is said to be this ; in the Reign of *Numa* (*vid. Plut. in Num.*) there was a raging Pestilence among the *Romans* not to be remov'd, either by Medicine or Sacrifice ; at which time a brazen Target called *ænea Pelta*, or *Ancile*, is reported to have fallen from above into the Hands of *Numa*, with a Voice promising all Health to the *Romans* while that Target shou'd be kept safe ; whereupon *Mamurius*, by *Numa*'s Order, made eleven other *Ancilia* or Targets, so like the first, that they cou'd not easily be distinguish'd, that if any one shou'd go about to steal the Original, he might mistake one for the other. See *Servius* upon that of *Virgil*, *Aen. 8. Lapsa Ancilia Cœlo.* Hence likewise that of *Ovid*, *Fast. lib. 3.*

Quis mihi nunc dicat, quare Cœlestia Martis

Arma ferant Salii, Mamuriumque canant ?

These *Salii* had the Custody of these *Ancilia*, and ev'ry March they dress'd themselves up in parti-colour'd Coats, call'd *Tunica*

ver.

ancient Targets, beating Drums, and lugging the poor Gods about a begging from House to House. Some ^m Temples are visitable but once a Year, and others never. Some are forbidden ⁿ Men, some Women, and other Rites ^{unap.}

vericolor, girt close about 'em with a Belt term'd *enomus reginae*, and upon that a Robe of State called *Trabea*, and upon their Heads they had their *Apices* like the Caps of our Pioneers, with a Crest of Cloth, by some called *Galea*, and here perhaps *Pileati*; and thus accouter'd, they danc'd about the *Forum* and *Capitol* with short Swords by their Sides, and a Javelin in their Right Hand, with the *Ancile* in their Left. The going about with their Mendicant Gods from Village to Village, was not only the Trade of the *Salii*, but of *Cybeles* Priests also, which occasion'd that severe wipe in *Tertullian*, *non sufficimus hominibus, & Diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre. Apol. c. 42.* We are not able to relieve poor Men, and your begging Gods into the bargain.

^m *Quedam fana semel anno adire permittunt; quaedam in totum nefas visere.]* We are told by *Pausanias* (*Arcad. fol. 263.*) that the Temples of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* were visitable but once a Year; and *Gyraldus de Diis Gentium*, l. 17. without quoting any Author, says that *Pluto's* Temple among the *Elei* was open'd but once a Year, and then none were permitted to go into it; but this he seems plainly to say upon the Authority of *Pausanias*, lib. 6. where speaking of the Temple of *Summanus*, that is, *Pluto*, says, *semel quot annis aperiunt, neque tunc introire cuiquam preterquam Sacrifulo, fas est.*

ⁿ *Est quo viro non licet, & nonnulla absque Feminis sacra sunt, etiam servo quibusdam Ceremoniis interesse piacularē flagitium est.]* A Man was not admitted to the Rites of the *Bona Dea*; and e-*vry Male-Picture was cover'd at that time, according to that of Juvenal, Sat. 2.*

— *Ubi velari Pictura jubetur,
Quacunque alterius sexus imitata Figuram.*

And therefore *Plutarch* in the Life of *Cæsar* reports, that *Clodius*, for the easier debauching of *Pompeia*, *Julius Cæsar's* Wife, disguis'd himself in Woman's Apparel, and so went to the Rites of the *Bona Dea*; in allusion to which is that of *Juvenal*, *Sat. 6.*

— *Sed nunc, ad quas non Clodius aras?*

Thus likewise were all Women interdicted the Temple of *Hercules*, according to that of *Silius Italicus*, lib. 3. where speaking

unapproachable by Slaves. Some ^o Statues are to be crown'd only by the Wife of one Man ; others ^p to be crown'd only by the Wife of many ; and the most noted Adulteress is pick'd up with great Devotion for the performance of the Ceremony. What must we think of that Worship, where the ^q Priest Sacrifices in his own Blood, and Supplicates with gaping

of the *Punick* Sacrifices, and the Temple of *Hercules*, he says thus,

*Tum quen fas & bonos adyti penetralia nosse ;
Femineos prohibent gressus.* —

And *Propertius* likewise alludes to the Reason of this interdicting of Women, *Eleg. ad Herculem*, lib. 4.

*Maxima qua Gregibus devota est Ara repertis,
Ara per has, inquit, Maxima facta manus ;
Hec nullis unquam pateat veneranda Puellis,
Herculis eximii ne sit inulta situs.*

And lastly, Slaves were not permitted to be at the Sacrifices of *Hercules* ; for upon that passage in *Virgil*, *Aen. l. 8. Tum lelli Juvenes certam.* — *Servius* has this Comment, in *Sacris enim Herculis liberi* ; nec servi intererant, nec liberti.

^o *Alia Sacra coronat Univira.]* These were the Rites of *Fortuna Muliebris*, who had a Temple dedicated to Her under the Title of *Muliebris*, upon the place where *Coriolanus* was by his Mother dissuaded from his Designs against the City. *Vid. Plut. in Coriol.* *Tertullian* likewise mentions this Goddess for the same purpose, *Fortuna Muliebri coronam non imponit, nisi Univira, sicut nec Matri Matuta.* *Lib. de Monog.*

^p *Alia Multivira.]* These were the Rites of *Anaitis*, the Concubine of *Cyrus*, by Name *Aspasia*, was by *Artaxerxes* made Priestess to this Goddess of Lewdness. *Vid. Bochart. Phaleg. cap. 19. l. 4. p. 277.* where you will see more about this *Anaitis*, and a Passage in the 2^d of *Macchab. i. 13, 15.* and so likewise another of *Clemens in Protrept.* happily corrected by this great Critick.

^q *Quid ? qui suo Sanguine libat.]* This was the *Archigallus* in *Tertullian*, or the chief Priest of *Cybele*. The remaining part of this Section, and so likewise the following one also, are in a great measure borrowed from the preceding Apology.

Wounds ?

Wounds ? Is not Profaneness preferable to such a Religion ? Or of that, where the Priest offers his own Instruments for a Mefs to his Deity ? What Violence does he offer to God, who thinks to propitiate him with such Obscenities ? For had he a Mind for Eunuch-Priests, he wou'd create, and not make them such. Who has not Understanding enough to see, that such Worshippers are out of their Senses ; and that those only who are as Mad as themselves, can Patronize such Extravagancies ; and I must say, that the number of Franticks, is the great support of the common Frenzy.

XXV. However, excessive Devotion (say you) laid the Foundation of the *Roman Empire*, and rais'd it to the excessive Grandeur we see ; for the *Romans* were much more celebrated for Religion and Piety than Valour ; O certainly ! For we have Illustrious and most Noble Tokens of the *Roman Justice* from the very Infancy of their Empire ; for were they not in the beginning confederated by Crimes, and fortify'd by Villanies, and from such Religious Methods grew up to be a Terror to all about 'em ? Had they not at first an *Asylum*, a Sanctuary for a Rabble of Debtors, Profili-gates, Incestuous, Cut-throats, Rebels to fly to ? And *Romulus* himself, their General and Ruler, that he might signalize himself, and excel his People in Wickedness, began with the Murther of his Brother. These were the hopeful Beginnings of this Religious City. Soon after, without Precedent, and against
the

the Law of Nations, they ravish'd the Neigh-bouring Virgins promis'd and betroth'd to others; nor were they less abusive to the Married Women; and when they had thus dishonour'd the Women, they fell foul upon their Parents, waged War with their Fathers-in-Law, and spilt the Blood of their Allies. What a Scene of Impiety, Lust, and Assurance in Wickedness is here? At length they drive out their Neighbours, plunder their Cities, their Temples, and their Altars, carry Home the Captive, and raise themselves by their own Wickedness upon the Ruin of others. This was the Discipline of *Romulus*, and the succeeding Kings and Generals, to this Day are exactly off the same Religion. Thus the *Romans* have nothing in Possession, nothing in Worship, but what is Plunder. All your Temples are Booty, rais'd from the Ruins of Cities, from the Spoils of the Gods, and the slaughter'd Priests. Thus to observe the Religions you have triumph'd over, and to adore the Deities you carry Captive in Triumph, is downright Insult and Mockery. For to worship what you steal, is to consecrate Sacrilege, not Deities. The *Roman* Victories then are but so many *Roman* Villanies, and every Trophy a Spoil from the Gods of some Nation or other. The *Romans* therefore are not so great upon the score of Religion, but by prosperous Sacrilege. Nor can it be imagin'd, that in their Wars they shou'd have the Gods on their side whom they fought against, and whom they began not to worship, 'till

'till they triumph'd over 'em. Besides, what cou'd those poor Gods do for the *Romans*, who cou'd do nothing for their own worshippers against 'em? And as for the Native Gods of *Rome*, we know 'em full well; there's *Romulus*, *Picus*, *Tiberinus*, and *Consus*, and *Pilumnus*, and *Volumnus*. The Goddess of Close-stools, *Cloacina*, *Tatius* had the good Fortune to find, and first brought her into Worship; *Hostilius* rais'd Fear and Pallor to the Honour of Deities, and afterwards a certain Mortal, I have forgot who, made a Goddess of a [†] Fever. Behold thy Nursing Deities, O *Rome*, Disease and Sickness! And verily, *Acca Larentia* and *Flora*, shameful Strumpets, may well be number'd among the Diseases and Divinities of *Rome*. These are the Native Deities of *Rome*, who, forsooth, have quite routed all the rest of the Gods in other Nations, and aggrandis'd the *Roman* Empire to the bulk we see it; nor cou'd *Thracian Mars*, or *Cretan Jupiter*, or *Juno* of Argos, then of *Samos*, and then of *Carthage*, or *Scythian Diana*, or the *Idæan Mother*, or the *Egyptian Monsters*, not Deities, all these cou'd do nothing against the Almighties of *Rome*. For you can have no reason to believe they cou'd help their own Nations if they wou'd, unless that they expected to be better serv'd at *Rome*, because

[†] *Mox a nescio quo Febris dedicata.*] Upon the Dédication of a Temple to *Febris*, or a Fever, *Tully* with a just Resentment says, *omnis igitur talis à Philosophia pellatur Error, ut cum de Diis immortalibus disputerimus, dicamus digna diis Immortalibus.* Nat. D. l. 3. Sect. 25. p. 436.

there the *Vestal* Virgins were Chaster, and the Priests more Holy ; but have there not been more *Vestals* punish'd for Uncleanness, than celebrated for Innocence ; Divine *Vesta* her self knowing nothing of their Intreagues ; and such as escap'd were not perhaps less Guilty, but more lucky than the Sufferers. Where is there more Naughtiness contracted for, more Assignations treated of, more Adulteries concerted, than by your Priests in the Temples, and at the very Altars ? Nay, there is more Lust actually fulfill'd in the Cells of the Sacristans, than in the Publick Stews. And after all, Providence has so order'd it, that the *Affyrians*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Grecians*, and even *Egyptians*, enjoy'd mighty flourishing Kingdoms long before the *Romans* had their *Pontifs* and *Field-Priests*, their *Salii*, *Vestals* and *Augurs*, and their *Chickens in Coops*, upon whose Pecking, or not Pecking, the nicest Affairs of State are decided.

XXVI. I come now to your Auguries, &c. collected with such Pains and Circumspection, and never neglected, as you say, without Repentance, nor observ'd without Success. *Clodius*, and *Flamininus*, and *Junius*, with their whole Armies were discomfited, no doubt, for not thinking it worth their while to stay for the Solemn Determination of Chickens. But what then must we think of *Regulus* ? Was not he with all his Observation of Auguries taken Prisoner ? Was not *Mancinus* religiously careful, and soundly beaten too for his Pains, and did he not submit

mit to the most dishonourable Terms? *Paulus's* Pullet fed very heartily, and yet he was swing'd off at *Cannæ*, and Slain with the best part of the *Roman Army*. *Caius Cæsar*, when the Auspices were against his Sailing into *Africa* before Winter, sail'd in contempt of 'em, and found the better Voyage, and the easier Victory for so doing. How many and notable Things cou'd I relate of your Oracles? *Amphiaraus* cou'd tell his Fate after Death, but cou'd not tell, poor Man, how his Wife wou'd betray him for a Necklace. Blind *Tiresias* cou'd foresee Things to come, but nothing present. In the Case of *Pyrrhus* the Poet, *Ennius* help'd out the *Pythian* with an Answer, when he found that *Apollo* had done Versifying, who wisely left off his Riddling, when Men grew wiser and less credulous. And *Demosthenes* finding the Responses forg'd in favour of *Philip*, complain'd of the *Pythones* for ^fPhilippizing. But, however, (say you) 'tis

^f Demosthenes — οιλιππίζειν Pythiam querebatur, &c.] Most of the foregoing Instances in this Section also are taken out of Cicero, but being referred to in the Latin Notes, I omit them. *Minucius*, indeed just before, says that *Apollo* wisely left off his Riddling, as Men grew wiser and less credulous; and thus thought Tully too, de Divin. lib. 2. Sect. 56, 57. But our Author from what he has said before, and from what immediately follows, evidently knew a better reason for the Cessation of Oracles, than the Improvement of the *Heathens* in Sagacity and Wisdom. But it was very proper for a *Christian* to convince a *Heathen* of the Vanity of their Oracles, from the Concessions of the wisest *Heathens*. But to what I have said upon this Subject, I shall only add what the *Heathen Oracle* it self has declar'd in this case. For *Apollo* delivering his Responses not by Humane Voice as he was wont, but from a dark and hideous Cavern, confess'd the Reason of it to be, because that *Just Men* lived upon the Earth; and

'tis not to be deny'd, but that the Auspices and Oracles sometimes hit upon the Truth ; and I might say again, that after so many Lies and random Shots, 'tis no great wonder if they hit right once, and that Chance sometimes acts like Design ; but I will not put you off with this Answer, but lead you to the very Fountain of Error and Wickedness, and let you into the whole Abyss of Darkness. These Dæmons then are Impure and Vagrant Spirits, who have sullied their Original Beauty, and from Celestial Purity are sunk down into earthly and gross Uncleannesses ; these Spirits therefore having lost the simplicity of their Substance, the Primitive finesse of their Nature, and being now clog'd and laden with Iniquity, and utterly undone themselves, make it their whole Business to undo others, for Companions in Misery ; being deprav'd themselves, they wou'd infuse the same depravity into others ; and being alienated themselves from God, they wou'd estrange Mankind from God also, by introducing false Religions. These same Spirits, the Poets and Philosophers know to be ^c Dæmons. *Socrates had a Dæmon*

upon Dioclesian's asking who *those Just Men were*, one of the Heathen Priests that stood by answer'd, they were the *Christians*. This Constantine the Great tells us he himself heard, being then a young Man, and at the same time in Company with *Dioclesian* ; and he most solemnly calls God to witness for the Truth of this Story. *Vid. Euseb. de vit. Conf. l. 2. c. 50, 51. p. 467.*

^c *Eos Spiritus Dæmonas esse Poeta sciunt, Philosophi differunt.]* Now I will not here enter into a Debate, whether the Poets and Philosophers knew these *Dæmons* to be Evil Spirits, but I wou'd fain see a good Reason for Correcting the *Fathers* at the rate

Mr. Da-

Dæmon so much a Familiar, that he undertook or declin'd nothing without his direction ; for the Spirit attended upon all Occasions. The Magicians also, are not only sensible of Dæmons, but all the strange Pranks they play, are perform'd by Dæmons. 'Tis they who give that efficacy to Enchantments, as to make Men see Things which are not, and not

Mr. Davies here does, for affirming them so to be. The Correction runs in these Words. *Noster Christianorum usu deceptus, nullus alios Dæmonas, nisi malos, agnoscit; ut patet ex Augustino C. D. lib. 9. cap. 19. Tertull. Apol. cap. 22. Eundem errorem erravit Cyprianus de Idol. van. p. 13. Quin & Lactantius Divin. Instit. lib. 1. cap. 7. perperam contendit necessum esse, ut Apollo sit malus Genius, ex eo quod responsis quibusdam se Δαιμόνα confessus sit; apud Philosophos enim vox illa in bonam fere partem sumitur, nī κακὸν vel simile Epitheton adnectatur, &c.* Now supposing Δαιμόνον to be taken for a good Genius among the Philosophers, unless hands be added to it, the Question is, whether our Minucius with the rest of the Fathers were in the wrong for charging these Dæmons to be Evil Spirits, let the Philosophers take 'em for what they will. The Psalmist then undoubtedly acknowledged good Angels, as well as bad, and yet he positively affirms, *All the Gods of the Heathens to be Δαιμόνia Devils*; St. Paul likewise declares without exception, *That the Things which the Gentiles Sacrifice, they Sacrifice to Devils, and not to God*. These very Fathers, who stand thus Corrected by Mr. Davies, had sensible demonstration from the Confession of these Dæmons, that they were Evil Spirits ; and yet, forsooth, Lactantius is said perperam contendens, to be over Zealous, and not to do fairly by Apollo, for contending that he must be necessarily a Devil, because he confess'd himself a Demon ; does this Commentator really think that good Angels attended upon the Heathen Oracles, and inspir'd the Pythones ? A little more Moderation for the Fathers, and something less Charity for the Devils wou'd not do amiss. But I fancy Mr. Davies was led into this Error by his admir'd Le Clerc, who upon the 1 Cor. cap. 10. v. 20. saith that Δαιμόνιον, doth not necessarily signify a Devil or Evil Spirit ; for the Heathens did not always Sacrifice to Devils or Evil Spirits, if we consider what were their true Thoughts. I think we need not trouble our Heads about their true Thoughts ; for if the Psalmist and St. Paul are positive that they did Sacrifice to Devils, they certainly did so, be their Thoughts what they will. See more upon this in the Notes on *Præceptos cibos*. Sect. 12.

to see Things which are. However, *Hespanes*, one of the most inquisitive, and the power-
fullest of the *Magi*, gives the true God the Honour due to his Name, and says also, that Angels are Messengers and Ministers, but only of the true God ; and that they fall down before his Presence, and worship their Lord, and obey his Orders with the profoundest submission and readiness. The same Author withal declares Dæmons to be Earthly, Vagabonds and Enemies to Mankind. Well, what think you of *Plato*? Who thought it so difficult to find out God, and express his Thoughts intelligibly upon that infinite Subject? Does not he without any difficulty Discourse of Angels and Dæmons? Does not he in his *Symposion* attempt to define the Nature of Dæmons? For he will have them to be of a substance between Mortal and Immortal, that is, between Body and Spirit, of a middle Nature, and a compound of Heaven and Earth, of Light and Heavy, by the help of which Composition they influence our Passions, and slide into our Hearts (says he) and possess our Senses, manage our Affections, and set us all on fire with Lust.

XXVII. These impure Spirits therefore are the *Dæmons*, as I have shewn from the *Magi*, the Philosophers, and from *Plato* himself; who lye skulking under consecrated Statues and Images, and by a Secret *Afflatus* from thence acquire the Reputation as it were of some Deity present; while they inspire the Priests, inhabit the Shrines, and sometimes

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insinuate into, and move the Fibres of the Entrals, steer the flight of Birds, govern the Lots, and deliver Oracles in many perplexing Untruths. In short, they are deceiv'd and deceive, as not knowing the pure Truth, and at the same time unwilling to confess what they know, to the disgrace and ruin of themselves. Thus it is they drag us down from Heaven to Earth, from the consideration of the true God, to the worship of an Idol; they disorder and disquiet us in our Sleep, and by the spirituality of their substance slip insensibly into our Bodies, frame Diseases, terrify our Minds, distort our Limbs, and so press us into their Service; and after they have been glutted with the Nidours of the Altars, and the Sacrifices of Beasts, they cease to hurt, that they may seem to Cure. And these are the very Gods you see raving about the Streets, and the Dæmoniacks themselves are their Priests, tho' without a Temple; who ^u foam, and rage, and

^u *Vates & ipsi absque templo sic insanunt, &c.]* Tertullian in the foregoing Apology exposing the Opinion of such as concluded those Dæmons to be no Gods, as had no Temples, proves 'em to be as much Gods as those that lay lurking in their Images, that is to be both alike Devils; and our *Ostavius* here likewise affirms, that the *Furioso's* about the Streets, and the *Diviners* who had no Temple (and such perhaps was the Dæmoniack in the Gospel, who is said to dwell among the Tombs) had all their Inspiration from the same Unclean Spirits. I only observe farther, that the *false Prophets* among the *Heathen* always delivered themselves in Ecstasies and strange Alienations of Mind, and in the most frantic Postures of Body; which made *Tully* ask the Question, *Quid vero habeat auctoritatis furor iste quem Divinum vocatis, ut ea quæ sapiens non videat, ea videat Insanus; & is, qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos assecutus sit?* De Divin. l. 2. Sect. 54. The *Montaignists*

and roll about in the same tempestuous manner as the Temple-Priests are us'd to do, for the Devil is in 'em both, tho' his Operations are different. Hence those Apparitions you recounted a while ago, such as the Phantomes of *Jupiter* to the Plebeian asleep, for the Restoration of his Plays; and of *Castor* and *Pollux* on Horseback, and of the Ship drawn by the Matron's Girdle. ^x Most of you know very well

nists of old, and the *False Prophets* of a later Date expressed themselves in the like odd and *Heathenish Gestures*, but the *Catholick Writers* of the first Ages make it one *Criterion* between a true, and a false Prophet, that the first is sober, sedate, and consistent both in Body and Mind; the other under violent Emotions of Mind express'd by as extraordinary Disorders of Body. It was a Rule among the *Ancients*, μὴ δὲν Περφόρτησι ἐν ἐνσάσος λαλεῖν. That a Prophet ought not to speak in Ecstasies. Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 17. Vid. Epiphanius against the Montanists, cap. 2, 4, &c. Chrysost. Homil. 29. in Epist. I. ad Cor. Hieron in Prefat. Comment. in Nahum.

* *Hac omnia sciunt pleriq; pars vestrum, ipsosq; demonas de semet ipsis confiteri, quoties a nobis tormentis verborum, & Orationis incendiis de Corporibus exiguntur.*] This Power over the unclean Spirits is on all occasions triumphantly insisted upon by all the Christian Apologists; the Fact the very Jews could not deny, but they evaded the Power of the Argument by ascribing it to Beelzebub; and in their own Writings assert. *Vid. Raym. pug. Fid. p. 290.* That our Lord Jesus, by virtue of the Name, Shem Hamephorash, which he stole out of the Temple, rais'd the Dead, and walk'd upon the Waters, and cured the Lame, and cleansed the Lepers. *Celsus, apud Orig. p. 7.* allows that Christians seem to prevail, διαμόνων τινῶν ἀνόμασι καὶ καταλάνσεσι, by virtue of the Name and Invocation of some Demons. And Julian, apud Cyril. Alex. l. 3. p. 100, says, that St. Paul did, ὡφελλειν ταῖς ταῦταις τοῖς τώποις γόντας καὶ απατεῖντας, go much beyond all the Conjurers and Impostors that ever were upon Earth. The Miracles then are allow'd of by the greatest Enemies to Christianity; but the Heathen *Magi*, and particularly Pythagoras by Porphyry and Iamblichus, Apollonius Tyaneus by Hierocles, and Apuleius by others, are all set up to ballance the mighty Works of Jesus of Nazareth, and his Disciples; to whom say they this wonderworking Secret was committed by their Master. But, *First*, allowing these Philosophers to have done some

well that the Dæmons are forc'd to confess all these things of themselves, as often as we rack 'em into Confession with our bare Words only,

some strange things, as *Jannes* and *Jambres*, and the *Egyptian Magi* did; yet did any of these Philosophers attempt to silence the *Heathen Oracles*, and force the *Spirits* in the *Pythones*, or the *Demoniacks* to confess themselves Devils in the presence of the *Senate*? Did they go about doing good, and employ their Powers in Miracles of Mercy and Charity, and perform these mighty Works at a word speaking, or with a Touch of their Garment, and in the Face of the World, and before their most implacable Enemies? Did they transmit this Power to any of their Disciples of working Miracles for some hundred of Years in their Master's Name, and for the Confirmation of the holiest Doctrine imaginable, till it became the Religion of the whole World? or rather, did they not do all their Feats to establish Men in their heathenish Impurities, which no Miracles cou'd justifie? Besides, how came Christ and his Disciples to convert these very *Egyptians*, from whom they are said to have learn'd their Magick? How came the Primitive Christians, such illiterate and errant Ideots in the Opinion of the Philosophers, to be all of a sudden such arrant Devils at the black Art, as to outdo all other the most learned Sects; so that they cou'd be never equal'd nor detected, neither by the Heathens themselves, nor Apostate Christians? How came so many also of them which used curious Arts, to bring their Books together upon their Conversion, and burn them before all Men, insomuch, that when they counted the Price of them, they found it fifty thousand Pieces of Silver? So mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed. And Lastly, how came the Devil to be so great a Fool as to lend out his Power against himself, to do Miracles for the Service and Worship of one God only in all manner of Holiness, and to pull down all his own idolatrous Temples with his own Hands? So that if the Christian Religion be a Cheat, 'tis a Cheat, I will venture to say, that we are bound to embrace and follow; because God has permitted such insuperable Bars to lye in our way against Infidelity, that a wise and good Man cannot help believing the Gospel; for greater and more notorious Miracles, and for the Confirmation of a better Doctrine, cannot be suppos'd possible to be done by the most mighty and holiest Being, than those we find recorded in *Scripture*. And the resisting so much Evidence, is justly look'd upon, as the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*, in those who were Eye-witnesses of the Facts, and imputed 'em to the Power of *Beelzebub*; and therefore this Sin shall not be forgiven, because God can do no more for the Conviction of such an Infidel, and leave him a free Creature.

and

and force 'em out of the Bodies they posses, by such tormenting Speeches as they cannot bear. For *Saturn*, and *Serapis*, and *Jupiter*, and whatever other Dæmons you worship, not able to endure their Pain, proclaim their Nature: And you may be well assur'd, that they wou'd never be at the expence of framing Lies to their own Shame, especially in the presence of you who adore 'em. Take their word then, and believe 'em to be Devils, when you have it from their own Mouths, and to their own Ruin. For when we adjure them by the One true God, the Wretches sore against their Will, fall into horrible Shiverings, and either spring forthwith from the Bodies they posses, or vanish by degrees, according to the Faith of the Patient, or the Grace of the Physician. Thus they dare not stand the Presence of Christians, whose Assemblies they disturb at a distance by your Hands. For this reason therefore they insinuate themselves into weak Minds, and there privately sow the hatred of that Religion they fear; for 'tis natural to hate what we fear, and to persecute what we are afraid of, to the best of our Power. Thus they seize upon Mens Spirits, and secure their Affections, that being prepossess'd, they may be sure to begin to hate us, before they know us, for fear that by knowing us they shou'd be constrain'd to love and imitate us, or at least not be able to find how to condemn us.

XXVIII. But how unjust it is to pass Sentence, as you do, without any previous Inquiry

quiry into the Merits of the Cause; be for once persuaded by us, who now repent of the like Practice. For heretofore we were just the same with your selves, under just the same Prejudices, as lying under the same Powers of Darkness and Stupidity. We were as confident as you now are, that the Christians worshipp'd Monsters, devour'd Infants, and after Feasting fell to Incest, without ever considering, that notwithstanding such Stories were continually blown about from Mouth to Mouth, yet nothing like 'em cou'd ever be trac'd out and prov'd; nor in all this time one Man alive produced to make the least Discovery, tho' he had not only Assurance of a Pardon, but was also under the Temptations of a Reward for so doing. But a Christian is so great a Stranger to Wickedness, that when he is accus'd, you see none of the natural Indications of Guilt, nothing of Shame or Fear about him; all that you hear from him, is, that he repents of nothing, but only for not having been a Christian sooner. And we heretofore, when we ^y concern'd our selves at the Bar in the defence of the Sacrilegious, Incestuous, and even of Parricides; we our selves, I say, had the Conscience to think it ^{just} for Christians not to be heard one tittle upon their Indictment; nay, sometimes we have shewn our selves more savage in our Pity than our Rage;

⁹ *Nos tamen cum Sacrilegos — tuendos suscipiebamus, &c.]* It appears probable from hence, that *Ostavius* was a Lawyer as well *Minucius*, for he here confesses that he had pleaded the Cause of the Sacrilegious and vilest Heathens.

by torturing Confessors to save themselves by denying their Religion ; a strange Abuse of Tortures ! To employ Racks to squeeze out Lies, which were made only to extort Truth. And if in any infirm Christian , the Torture happen'd to be too hard for his Religion, and cou'd but prevail upon him to renounce his Faith , we immediately acquitted him ; as if by renouncing his Christian Name, he wip'd himself clear of all the Crimes charg'd against him. Don't you see then that we were once of the same Mind with your selves, and did just the same Things as you do now ? whereas had we at that time been acted, not by the Instigation of the Devil, but by right Reason, we shou'd not have judg'd it reasonable to have constrain'd Christians to deny their Christianity, but only to confess the Incests, Abominations, Prophanations, and sacrificing of Infants, charg'd upon 'em in their Indictments. For with these and such like Stories the evil Spirits have stuff'd the Ears of simple People to raise in 'em an execrable Horror against us. Nor is it any great wonder, considering the Nature of Fame , which being an uncertain Report, feeds and lives upon a mixture of Lies ; and is quite destroy'd therefore by the Evidence of Truth ; it is not strange, I say, that such an evil Fame shou'd be kept alive, since 'tis the whole Busines of evil Spirits to preserve it ; for from them it is, that Lies do live and move and have their Being. Hence it is that you came to hear that the Head of an Ass is so divine a thing with us ; but who can have so

little

little Brains as to worship the Head of an Ass? or rather, who can be so much an Ass himself as to think it credible for a Piece of one to be worshipped, unless those who have entire Asses in the Stalls with their Goddess *Epona* in such sacred Veneration, and dress up the same Animals with *Isis* in divine Apparel? But you do as much for the Heads of Bulls, and Rams, and make 'em serve both for Gods and Sacrifice. You have likewise a strange medly of Gods, a Compound of Goat and Man, and you pay divine Worship to the Heads of Lyons and Dogs. Moreover, don't you adore and feed the Bull *Apis*, as well as the *Egyptians*? Nor do you condemn their Worship of Serpents, Crocodiles, Beasts, Birds and Fishes; any one of which Gods, shou'd a Man chance to kill, 'tis as much as his Life's worth. These same *Egyptians*, and not a few among your selves, do not stand more in awe of *Isis*, than of a sharp *Onyon*; and pay as fearful a Respect, (slaving your prefence) to a ² *Fart*, as to your God *Serapis*. And he who sets about that Lie of worshipping the Bishop's Privitys, endeavours to Father his own Nastiness upon us. For such infamous Devotions best suit with those, whose common Practice it is for both Sexes to prostitute themselves to each other, as naked as they were born; amongst whom all sort of Obscenity in perfection passes for Gallantry. Men who even envy the Extravagances

² *Nec Serapide magis, quam strepitus per pudenda corporis expressos contremiscunt.*] See the Notes of *Rigaltius* for this fearful Respect to so odd a thing.

of the lewdest Strumpets, and commit the most brutish and shocking Abominations in Nature; Men of the impurest Tongues, considering the Practice they put 'em to, shou'd they never speak a word; who are rather tir'd out than asham'd of their Debaucheries. O Filthiness incredible! They choose to undergo and practice such intolerable Uncleannesses, as the more tender Age cannot bear, and what the most hardy Slaves will not be constrain'd to endure.

XXIX. These and such shameful Villanies we cannot bear to hear, and it is a Violence to our Modesty so much as to name any more, tho' in our own Defence; for the Crimes you lay upon a chaste and bashful People are of that Nature, that we shou'd think 'em incredible, did not you convince us to the contrary by your own Practice. For whereas you tax our Religion with the Worship of a Criminal and his Cross, you are strangely out of the way of Truth, to imagin either that a Criminal can deserve to be taken for a Deity, or that a meer ^a Man can possibly be a God. He surely
is

* *Longe de vicinia veritatis erratis, qui putatis Deum credi, aut meruisse noxiū, aut potuisse Terrenū.]* St. Paul charges it as a Crime upon the Galatians, that in their Heathen State, *They did Service to them, which by Nature are no Gods;* and our Author wonders at their Absurdity here, to think that the *Christians* cou'd worship either a Criminal or a *Man*, for a *God*. The wisest Heathens, even Socrates himself, as I have already shewn, did think the Worship of Inferior Deities, or those who are by Nature no Gods, lawful; and there is indeed hardly any Plea the *Socinians* use for the worship of *Jesus Christ*, as a made *God*, which was not before made

is miserable in good earnest, whose hopes all hang upon a Mortal; for his whole Comfort expires with the Man. The *Egyptians*, 'tis true chose out a Man to worship, he is the Being they propitiate, him they consult upon all Emergencies, and he it is they sacrifice to; and yet this mighty he, who is a God to others, is most certainly a Man to himself, whether he will or no; he may deceive others, but he himself cannot but be sensible what he is. Nay, you your selves complement your own Princes and Emperors, not as great and eminent Men, for then the Incense wou'd be allowable, but your false and fulsome Flattery addresses to 'em as Gods; whereas in good truth, the Man of Fame, as well as the Man of Goodness, are best celebrated, when our Esteem for the one, and our Affection for the other, are express'd to them both, as Men only. Thus you invoke their Deity, supplicate their Images, implore their *Genius*, that is their Daemon, and it is now become less hazardous for a Man to swear falsely by the *Genius* of Jove, than by that of the Emperour. As for the Adoration of Crosses you objected against us, I must tell you, that we neither adore^b Crosses nor desire them. You certainly
who

made use for the worship of subordinate Gods, by the Philosophers. Since then the *Socinians* God by Grace, is not a God by Nature, and none but a God by Nature can be worshipped without a Sin, according to St. Paul, and this Passage of *Minucius*, it must of consequence be Idolatry in the *Socinians* to worship Christ as God, whom they affirm by Nature to be a mere Man.

^b *Cruces etiam nec colimus, nec optamus.] Your Jesus, faith Trypho, having by this fallen under the extremest Curse of the Law of God,*

who worship wooden Gods, are the most likely People to adore Wooden Crosses, as being Parts of the same Substance with your Deities. For what else are your Ensigns, Flags and Standards, but Crosses gilt and beautify'd? your victorious Trophies, not only represent a simple Cross, but a Cross with a Man upon it. The ^e Sign of a Cross naturally appears in a Ship,

*God, we cannot sufficiently admire that you shou'd expect any Good from God, who place your hopes in a Man that was crucify'd, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπον σωγεθέντα, for our Law stiles every one that was crucify'd accursed; Dial. cum Tryph. 227, 249, 317. And as it was a stumbling Block to the Jews, so was it to the Greeks, Foolishness; as we find in all these Apologies. But St. Paul saith, God forbid that I shou'd glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. The Primitive Christians therefore, who like St. Paul, were Crucify'd to the World, gloried in nothing more than the Sign of the Cross, and not only at Baptism, but almost upon every occasion sign'd themselves with it, to let the World see, they were not ashame of their Crucify'd Master. And this external Respect, and the frequent Use of the Cross gave occasion to the Heathens (who were apt to wrest every thing) to give out, that the Christians worshipp'd a Cross. But this Calumny all the Apologists refute by denying the Fact; and Minucius here in the most expreſſ words imaginable, saith, *Cruces etiam nec colimus nec optamus; As for Crosses, we neither worship, nor wish for 'em.**

[Signum sane Crucis naturaliter visimus in navi, &c.] I make no doubt here with the learned Mr. Davies, but that our Author copied after Tertullian, as he had done before from Justin Martyr; but that they did it αἰσχαντῶς, without entring into the Reason of the Thing, as he says, I am not so certain; and as for his taxing some Moderns for following the Ancients herein, ne ultra secula præcedentia sapuisse viderentur, for fear they shou'd seem wiser than the Fathers. I must tell him again, that if some Moderns wou'd not seem Wiser than all before them, it wou'd be much better for the Christian Religion. And as for the Papists, (if those be the some Moderns he means) had they kept up only to the Primitive Reverence and Use of the Cross, there had never been so many Divisions in the Church of Christ about it, the Sign of whose Cross is now abhor'red by many, and totally laid aside even in Baptism; and that which was heretofore a stumbling Block to the Jews, and Foolishness to the Greeks only, but the Glory of St. Paul and the Primitive Ages, is now become a Stumbling Block even to Christians,

that

Ship, either when she is under sail, or row'd with expanded Oars, like the Palm of our Hands; not a *Jugum* erected but exhibits the Sign

that is, to some wiser Moderns; as if they were really ashame'd to confess the Faith of that *Christ, who was crucify'd under Pontius Pilate*. But let us examin the Reasoning in this Point, which Mr. Davies asserts to be so weak and trifling. And see whether the Christian Apologists may not be fairly vindicated in this Case, which if practicable, had certainly been the Duty of this Commentator to have attempted, rather than to have expos'd them and their Followers, *ἀλαζανίσως*. The Argument here made use of, is one of those we call *Argumenta ad Homines*, which in it self, whether true or false, is justly urg'd against those who allow it. The Apologists then argue, that the Gentiles were the most likely Men to worship wooden Crosses, who worshipp'd wooden Gods; That many of their Deities were no better than old Stumps of Trees in the Form of a Cross; That their Flags, Standards and Trophies were of the like Figure; That the Sign of a Cross was set forth in a Vessel, row'd with Oars, and represented likewise by a pure Worshipper, when he was at his Devotion with his Hands held up and laid a cross, or with his Arms extended. Now for the Heathens, who dealt so much in Crosses, both in religious and common Uses, for such Men to be so against the Use of the Cross amongst Christians, who did not worship it, they thought very unreasonable. This then is the Scope of the Apologists aforesaid in their Reasonings about this Ceremony; and it is evidently likewise the Design of *Minucius* from this Conclusion; *Itaq; signo crucis aut ratio naturalis innititur, aut vestra Religio formatur. Thus then there is either some natural Reason for the Sign of the Cross, or your own Religion is founded upon it; and therefore not to be objected against Christians.* And where now is the notorious Weakness of the Ancients in thus pleading for the Use of the Cross among Christians, which was so much in vogue amongst those who objected against it? As I am not for justifying all the Types and Figures insisted on by the Fathers, so neither am I with Mr. Davies and Basnage, lib. 3. c. 22. and some other over-wise Moderns, for making merry with 'em upon this score, and looking upon all their allegorical Interpretations, as meer Cabala and Whimsie. It is very natural upon a typical Oeconomy, as that of Moses was, to be curious and over-indulgent to our particular Fancies, as the Jews certainly were; but I conceive that the Holy Ghost might have different Views under the same Type, as we know some Prophecies to have been fulfill'd different ways. I find likewise, that the extraordinary Operations of the Holy Spirit continu'd in the Church till the time of *Montanus*; for *Eusebius* in-

Sign of a Cross; and when a pure Worshipper adores the true God with Hands extended, he makes the same Figure. Thus you see that the

forms us, *Hist. Eccl.* l. 5. c. 3. that when *Montanus*, *Alcibiades*, and *Theodotus* in *Pbrygia*, pretended to the Gift of Prophecy, *Many* believed they might be Prophets, because many extraordinary Operations of the divine Gifts were still perform'd in divers Churches. *Justin Martyr* tells *Trypho* expressly, p. 308. ὡς οἵνιν καὶ μέχεται τοῦ Πρεσβυτηρᾶ χαρομάτα δεῖν. The prophetic Gifts are still amongst us. And to mention but one more, *Irenaeus* not only declares that some Christians had then Πλεγματικὴν τελεόσθων, καὶ ὀπτασίας, καὶ πνοῆς Πλεγματικὰς, the Knowledge of Things to come, and Visions, and prophetick Predictions; but confirms it from what he himself and others had seen, Καθὼς καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν εἴ τοι ἐκκλησίᾳ φερούτην χαρομάτα εἰχόντων, As we our selves have heard many Brethren in the Church, who had prophetical Gifts, and by the Spirit spake with Tongues, and discover'd the Secrets of Men, and expounded the Mysteries of God, l. 2. c. 57. Besides, 'tis not to be imagin'd but that the Converts of the Apostles, those of Learning especially, and who were set over the Flock of Christ, wou'd be very inquisitive with their Teachers about the Types of the Law, and how they were fulfill'd in the Gospel, and why the Apostles shou'd not gratify their Desire in this I cannot tell. These are some Reasons with me, why we shou'd not be so over sanguine in censuring the earliest Fathers for some figurative Expositions, which may now seem harsh to us; for the typical Part of the Law is not all fully explain'd in the Gospel, and what more seemingly harsh in the Fathers, than the Allegory of Sarah and *Hagar*, which tho' expressly asserted by St. Paul to be Typical of the Two Covenants, will not be allow'd of by some latter Criticks. St. John tells us, That as Moses lift'd up the Serpent in the Wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lift'd up. This say the Ancients was a Figure of the Cross, and a Symbol of Salvation; for he that turn'd to it, was saved from Death, not by virtue of the Serpent he saw with his Eyes, but by the Saviour of the World; and what more probable than this Interpretation? I know not seemingly a more mysterious Ceremony than that of holding up the Hands of *Moses* while *Joshua* fought; this *Justin Martyr* calls τὸν δὲ σώματον, καὶ τὸν δὲ τὸν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἐπικλήσεως. *Tryph.* p. 338. A Type of the Cross, and a Type also of the Invocation of the Name *Jesus*. Now *Joshua* was both a Type, and the very Name of *Jesus*, and the holding up the Hands of *Moses*, says *Justin*, was in the Form of a Cross; and then *Amaleck's* prevailing when that Posture was alter'd, was Typical of our future prevailing against *Amaleck*, or our spiritual Enemies.

the Sign of the Cross has either some Foundation in Nature, or in your own Religion; and therefore not to be objected against Christians.

XXX. I come now to return him his Answer, who affirms the Slaughter and Blood of an Infant, to be the initiating Ceremony into the Christian Mystery. Do you think it practicable for such a tender little Body to be butcher'd at this rate? or that any one cou'd prevail with himself to let out the Blood of this Babe before it was well in? No one can think the Barbarity credible, but he who can find in his Heart to do it. And who so justly suspicious for such a Fact, as your own selves, whom I see exposing your Infants to wild Beasts and Birds, or strangling them after the most miserable manner? Nay, some of you will not give 'em the liberty to be born, but by cruel Potions procure Abortion, and smother the hopeful Beginnings of what wou'd come to be a Man, in his Mother's Womb, and

Enemies, by the Power of the crucify'd Joshua or Jesus. What more agreeable, easie, and apposite than this Exposition? Or who may better pretend to the Gift of Interpretation, which was then in the Church, than this holy Martyr? Of this sort are his other Interpretations in that excellent Dialogue, which in a little time I hope to see abroad, and in English, and the Martyr therein justly adorn'd and vindicated; for there the Types, Figures, and Prophecies are so beautifully apply'd, and do so clearly set forth Christ to be God. And in the learned Grotius, and some others, they are so very jejune and empty, and so strangely sparing upon our Lord's Divinity, that upon Comparison, there seems to me to be as much difference between the Interpretations of the Martyr and some Moderns, as between a *Man himself*, and his *Clothes* stuff'd with Straw. Nor had I been so long in vindicating the Fathers upon this Head, had I not found some *Criticks* much longer in making them *Cabbalists*.

commit Parricide before he is in the World. And these forsooth are the Lessons you learn from your Gods; for *Saturn* expos'd not his Children indeed, but he eat 'em. With good Reason therefore in some Parts of *Africa* were Infants sacrific'd to him by their own Parents, who did all they cou'd with good words and Kisses to keep 'em quiet, for fear their Cries shou'd unhallow and spoil all, and make it a lamentable Sacrifice. It was a religious Rite amongst the *Scythians*, and with *Egyptian Busiris*, to offer Strangers upon their Altars; and the *Gauls* slay'd human, or rather inhuman Victims to *Mercury*. The *Romans* buried alive a *Greek* and a *Gaul* of both Sexes, for an Atonement to their Deities; and *Jupiter Latiaris* is worshipped by them to this Day with Homicide, and gorg'd with the Blood of condemn'd Malefactors, *Saturn's* own Son eat gormandizing upon human Flesh. This same Man-eater of a God, was he, I suppose, who instructed *Catiline* to confederate his Conspirators with Blood; and taught *Bellona* likewise to consecrate her Priests with Draughts of the same Liquor. And hence came the Receipt for curing the Falling-sickness with the Blood of a Man, a Remedy much worse than the Disease. Nor do they come much behind hand, who devour wild Beasts, fresh from the Amphitheater, all o'er besmear'd and dy'd with Blood, Beasts fatted with the Limbs and Entrals of Men. But for Christians, as we think it unlawful to be Spectators of your bloody Sights, so cannot we endure to hear of them; and we have

have so much Aversion to Human Blood, that we will not so much as ^a taste of the Flesh of Beasts, if we know there is any thing of Blood in it.

XXXI. And as for the Incestuous Banquet, 'tis a Story as false and black as the Devils who combin'd to make it; that they might sully the Reputation of our Chastity by so monstrous a Calumny; in order to prejudice Men's Minds, and fill 'em with aversion and horror to the Truth before they know it. Thus it is, your Friend *Fronto* has declaim'd against us upon this Topic, affirming nothing upon Testimony, but only throwing about his Dirt like an Orator. For such Monsters breed only among your selves. 'Tis no Crime with the *Persians* to mix with their Mothers, and in *Egypt*, and at *Athens*, 'tis lawful to Marry with Sisters. Your Memoirs and Tragedies ring with Incests; and the Pleasure you take in reading and hearing 'em, shews your liking to the Sin. And you have still farther encouragement to be Incestuous from the example of the very Gods you Worship, who make nothing of lying with their Mothers, Daugh-

^a *Ut nec edulium pecorum in cibis sanguinem noverimus.]* Most of the material Points in this and the following Section have been already notify'd in the preceding Apologies; only we may observe farther, that the Apostolical Decree for abstaining from Blood, was strictly observ'd for a long time in the Primitive Church both in the East and West, which Decree we find renew'd with the Addition of a Penalty in *Canon LXIII.* of those which pass under the Title of Apostolical, *Si quis Episcopus, vel Presbyter, vel Diaconus vel omnino ex Sacerdotali Catalogo comedenter Carnem insanguine sue anime, vel quod a feris captum, vel morticinium, deponatur; hoc enim tecum prohibet, si autem sit Laicus, segregetur.*

ters and Sisters. No wonder therefore, Incest is so frequently found amongst you, for 'tis always in practice, tho' not always discover'd. Nay, such is your Unhappiness, that you fall into this Sin without knowing it; for while you are thus liberal of your Lust, and sow Children about in ev'ry place, and while those you have born at home, you expose to the Mercy of Strangers; 'tis ten to one but in your Travels you fall foul upon your Relations, and go in ignorantly into your own Children. Thus the Incestuous Banquet is a Lye of your own framing, while you have no knowledge of us, or while you make no Conscience in committing that your selves, which you falsely charge upon Christians. But 'tis our business, not so much to take care about a face of Modesty, as to wear it in our Mind. We most willingly contain within the Band of one^e Marriage

** Unius Matrimonii vinculo libenter inheremus.]* I cannot see from this Expression, *libenter inheremus*, we are easily contented with one Wife only; how according to Mr. Davies, *Minucius* is one of those who condemns second Marriages; for the Expression fairly interpreted, seems to imply no more than that of St. Paul, *1 Cor. 7. 8, 9. I say therefore to the Unmarried and Widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I, but if they cannot contain, let them marry, for it is better to marry than to burn.* And the reason of this Advice he grounds upon the Persecution then raging against the Christians, *I suppose therefore that this is good for the present Distress, v. 26.* Now St. Paul's preferring a single State to a Married one, considering present Distress, I doubt not, gave occasion to some to strain the Point too far, and to condemn second Marriages in general, tho' the Apostle expressly, not only makes 'em Lawful, but in some Circumstances Necessary. And now if we consider the softness of the Expression, *libenter inheremus*, I can see no reason why our *Minucius* may not as fairly be interpreted to side with St. Paul, as with some *Hereticks*; for the troubles of the Christian Professors, were at this time also very great upon the account of Religion, and a wise and good Christian

riage only. We either know no Woman, or but one, and that purely for the satisfaction of having Children. Our Feasts are not only chaste, but sober; for we neither indulge in Eating, nor do we spin out the repast with Wine, but temper Chearfulness with Gravity; pure in Discourse, in Body purer, and many preserve a perpetual Continency without the least Ostentation of it. In a word, so far are we from any incestuous Desire, that some cannot bear the Thought of lawful Pleasures without a Blush. Nor does it follow, that because we refuse to bear any Offices among you, we must needs be of the scum of the People. Nor are we ^f Factious, tho' we are

all

stian wou'd not chuse to be incumber'd with the Cares of a Family in the midst of Persecutions. The same Apostle also orders, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons shou'd be the *Husbands* ~~but of one Wife,~~ *1 Tim. 3. 2.* This, I am not ignorant, is generally interpreted of *one Wife at a time*, according to the 17th Apostolical Canon, *Qui post sanctum baptismum duobus Conjugiis fuerit implicitus — non potest esse Episcopus, vel Presbyter, vel Diaconus.* But since St. Paul to the *Corinthians* advises the *Widows* and *Un-married* to abide even as he; since he tells *Timothy*, that Bishops, &c. must be the *Husbands* of *one Wife*, since second Marriages were condemn'd by some, and hardly looked upon as very honourable by any; and since likewise the Clergy were to be chosen out of the most shining Lights, and eminent Instances of Chastity, Temperance, and ev'ry Virtue, and that it is a greater perfection not to Burn, than to Marry; for these Reasons I am apt to believe, that St. Paul's direction to *Timothy* about the choice of those he shou'd lay Hands upon, viz. That they shou'd be the *Husbands* of *one Wife*, does not signify *one Wife at a time*, but such as had never been but once Married; such being brighter Examples of Abstemiousness, and much likelier to attend diligently upon the Cure of Souls, and the Offices of Charity, than those who had been Married to two or three Wives, and perhaps had a Family of Children from each to provide for.

^f *Nec fastidiosi sumus.* For which I read with *Heraldus, Fastidiosi, and for the Reason by him assign'd. For 'tis evidently in*

all bent upon the same Kingdom, and relish but one and the same Happiness; for we are as quiet and inoffensive in our Assemblies, as when we are all alone; nor are we so flippant of Tongue in corners only, our Silence is owing to your selves, who either are ashamed or afraid to hear us in Publick. The daily increase of our numbers is so far from a dispragement to our Religion, that it is a Testimony in its Commendation; for the Christian Party are faithful Adherents to their holy Profession, and are continually augmented

imitation of Tertullian; and I can make no Sense of *Festidiosi* with *omnes* — *eadem congregati quiete qua singuli*; but if we read *Festiosi*, then 'tis plainly to wipe off an Objection against their frequent Meetings; that tho' they were all set upon the same Happiness or Kingdom, yet in their Assemblies they never had any Caballings against the State, but were as harmless in a Body, as apart; and then Minucius's — *omnes* — *eadem congregati quiete, qua singuli*, will be the same with Tertullian's, *Hoc sumus congregati, quod & dispersi.* *Hoc universi, quod & singuli.*

Et quod in dies nostri numerus augetur, non est crimen Erroris, sed Testimonium Laudis.] St. Paul informs the Church of Rome and Coloss, that in the space of thirty Years the Gospel had been preach'd throughout the World, and brought forth Fruit in ev'ry Nation, on which account it soon obtain'd the Name of *η νεργία σιδάχη*, or the *Prevailing Doctrine*, as Porphyry and Julian both confess. Now for a Religion so at Enmity with Flesh and Blood, so destructive of all the Idolatrous Religions in the World, first set on foot by a *Man* condemn'd by his own Nation as a false Prophet, and a Malefactor, and crucify'd in the face of the World, and after his Crucifixion carried on by a few poor and illiterate Persons, who were to make no Resistance to the Civil Powers upon any account whatever, if they had been able; for such a Religion under such disadvantages, to spread so fast, and force all the Nations to come in and embrace it without a prospect of any thing 'till after Death, and to worship this Crucify'd Man for a God; this I say, or nothing, is impossible to be effected by any Powers whatsoever, but by that only which is Almighty; and no wonder then if the Christian Worship so soon got the Name amongst the Heathens of the *Prevailing Doctrine*.

by

by Heathens. Nor lastly, do we know one another, by any private Marks upon our Bodies, as you vainly imagine, but our Innocence and Modesty are our Badges of Distinction. The Love, which to your Sorrow, we express to one another, is, because we are perfect Strangers to all hatred. And whereas we call our selves *Brethren*, a Title you much envy us for, it is, because we look upon our selves as the Children of the one God, Parent of all Things; as partakers of the same Faith, and Coheirs of the same Hope; but as for you, you have no such lovely Characters to discern one another by, your mutual Hatred is the most distinguishing Mark about you; nor do you ever call *Brother*, but when you certainly design to cut a Man's Throat.

XXXII. But do you think we hide the Object of our Worship, because we have neither Temples nor Altars? What Image shou'd I make for God, when Man is the most lively Image of his Maker, if you rightly consider it? What Temple shall I build him, when the whole World, the Work of his own Hands, cannot contain him? And when I, who being but a Man live at large, shall I confine his immense Majesty within a little^h Apartment?

Is

^b *Et cum Homo latius maneam, intra unam adiculam vim tanta Majestatis includam?* The *adiculam* here mention'd, I take to be a Shrine, which was a little Chapel representing the form of a Temple with an Image in it, which being set upon an Altar, or some other Place, and the Leaves of the Door being open'd, the Image stood or sat in State, and so was represented to the Spectator. This *Ædicula*, or *little Chapel*, was properly among the *Æmiliae* called *Ferculum*, not very different from the *Næds* among

Is it not more becoming such a Deity, to dedicate our Mind to him for a Temple, and to consecrate our Hearts into Altars? Shall I bring such Sacrifices and Oblations to my God, as he has made for my own use, as if I turn'd his bounteous Presents back again upon his own Hands? 'Tis Ingratitude, since the Sacrifices and Victims we are now to offer, are just, and pure, and innocent Souls. He therefore who studies Innocence, is at his Devotion; he who is doing Justice, is doing Sacrifice; to abstain from Injuries, is to propitiate the Deity, and to save a Man, is to slay the noblest Victim. Behold! These are our Sacrifices, these the Christian Rites of Worship! Thus amongst us, the best worshipper is the justest Man. But say you, we can neither see nor shew the God we worship; and for this Reason, say I, we believe him to be the God,

mong the Grecians. Thus we have mention in *Athenaeus* of Καΐσιγ-
ξΩ, which, says he, is αγέλον ἐν τῷ κτηνάρι τὸν Διός καβίδη-
ποι, a Vessel wherein they place their Images of Jupiter. *Deipnos.*
L. II. Agreeable to this is what *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith of
Asclepiades, that wheresoever he went, he carried about him *Dei
celestis argenteum breve Figmentum*, a small Silver Image of *Ura-
nia*, lib. 22. And by this we are to understand the *Tabernacle* of
Moloch, and the *Star* of the God *Remp han*. For the Σκυλών, or
Tabernacle of *Moloch*, was a little Cabinet, wherein the Image of
this false God was kept. Now shall I, saith *Minucius*, confine to
a Box the God who made the World, and whose Providence and
Presence is over all his Works? For in such Boxes, or Shrines, did
the Heathens imagine both their Gods and their Powers circum-
scrib'd. Accordingly *Cicero* speaking jocularly of *Diana*, who was
thought to preside over Women's Labour, said, *It was no wonder
that when the Goddess was gossiping abroad, to attend upon the Birth
of Alexander the Great, her Temple was set on Fire. Minime id
esse mirandum, quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluit,
abfuisse domo.*

because

because we perceive, but cannot see him. For in all his Works, in ev'ry Motion of the Universe, we behold the Divine Virtue present, either in Thunder, Lightning, or in Calm. Nor think it strange, you see not God ; for the Wind submits not to be seen itself, tho' it moves, tosses to and fro, and agitates every thing. The Sun which makes all visible, will not endure to be seen himself ; our Eyes cannot stand his Shine, but sink and languish under his Rays direct, and if you wou'd gaze on him long, you will gaze your self blind. What then ? Wou'd you stare upon the very Maker of the Sun, and feed your Eyes upon the Fountain of Light, and support the insufferable Shock of Divine Glory it self, whose Lightning and Thunder only your Eyes and Ears cannot bear ? Wou'd you see God with Eyes of Flesh, when 'tis more than they can do to see the Soul by which you are quicken'd and made to Speak ? but according to your Doctrine, God is not acquainted with the Actions of Men ; for being lodg'd in Heaven, he is too far off to take care of all, either in general or particular. Mistaken, sadly mistaken Man ! For how can God be said to be afar off, when all things in Heaven and in Earth, and beyond this Province of the Globe, are known to him, and full of God ? For in all places whatever, he is not only near us, but in us. Consider the Sun again, who is fix'd in Heaven, and yet oversees the whole Earth, every where present, and diffus'd in every thing, and nothing is

is hid from the light thereof. How much rather then is the universal Parent and Spectator, from whom nothing is hid, how much rather is he present in Darkness, present in the greatest Abyss of Darkness, even that of our own Thoughts? For we not only act under him, but to speak nearer to Truth, in him and with him, we live, and move, and have our Being.

XXXIII. Nor let us flatter our selves with security from our numbers, for tho' we may seem innumerable by human Arithmetick, yet in the Eye of God are we as nothing. 'Tis we who distinguish by Countries and Nations, but to God the Universe is but as one Cottage. Kings see what passes in their Kingdoms by the Eyes only of their Ministers, but God has no occasion for Informers. For we not only live under his Eye, but in his Bosom. You object likewise, that the worshipping of one God with Altars and Temples, and abundance of Ceremony, stood not the *Jews* in any stead. Here again you abuse your self, either by not knowing, or not calling to Mind the Ancient, but the After-state of the *Jews* only. For that Ancient People so long as they worshipped our God with Purity and Innocence, and according to the Rites of their Religion; our God, I say, for there is no other God but him, so long as they were obedient to his wholsom Precepts, from Few they became Innumerable, from Poor they became Rich, and from Slaves they grew into Kings; while small

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in number, and defenceless, they fly from a numerous and well-appointed Army, and by the Command of God, and the Confederacy of the Elements, overwhelm'd their pursuers all in the Red-Sea. Read over again their own Writings, or if the *Roman* please you better, read what *Flavius Josephus*, and *Antoninus Julianus* have written of the *Jews*, not to mention elder Historians ; and you'll soon be convinc'd, that their Sins pull'd down their Misfortunes, and that not one Disaster befel this People, but what was foretold shou'd befall 'em, if they persisted in their Obstinacy. Thus you'll find, that they abandon'd God, before their God abandon'd them ; and that they were not taken Prisoners together with their God, as you just now impiously asserted ; but that he himself deliver'd 'em into the Hands of their Enemies for deserting his Religion. But as to the general Conflagration, I must tell you, 'tis a very vulgar Error to imagin, that there is not Fire enough in store for such an universal Destruction, or that it cou'd not be suspended for so many Ages. For what Man of Sense can make a doubt, but that all Things which had a beginning may have an end ? Or that Things made, may perish ? That Heaven it self with all its Furniture, as it began, so it will cease to be ? That fresh-water Fountains, and their original Nourishment the Seas, will all evaporate into Fire ? For 'tis a settl'd Opinion among the *Stoicks*, that when the Moisture is all consum'd, the World will turn into a Blaze ; and the *Epicureans* likewise

are of the same Opinion touching the Conflagration of the Elements, and the dissolution of the Universe. *Plato* moreover saith, that the several Parts of this Mundane System are kept in repair by alternate returns of Deluges and Conflagrations ; and tho' he will have the World so made, as to be everlasting by its make, yet he withal grants, that the supreme Artist, God alone, can unmake and ruin it at pleasure. And certainly there is nothing so wonderful in this, that the Workman shou'd be able to destroy the Work of his own Hands. You see then, that your Sages Philosophize just as we do, not that we tread in their Steps, but that they have taken these sketches of Truth from the Divine Sermons of our Prophets, and have disguis'd their Theft. For thus even the most famous of your Philosophers, *Pythagoras* in the first place, and especially *Plato*, have done by the Doctrine of the Resurrection ; they deliver'd it deceitfully and by halves, when they taught the Immortality of the Soul, and the *Metempsychoſis* ; and the more to disfigure the Truth, they add likewise, that these Souls frequently shift their Lodgings, and return into Sheep, and Birds, and Beasts. An Opinion altogether unworthy a Philosopher, or a sincere Lover of Truth, and fit only for such, whose design is to corrupt and mimick it. But 'tis sufficient to my purpose to shew, that your Philosophers in some measure do chime in with Christians. But who has so little Sense, or indeed is so much a Brute, as to presume to impugn this evi-

evident Truth, that Man, who was at first made by God, can after Death, be made by him again ? For ¹ supposing Man to be just such a nothing after this Life, as he was before it, yet as he had his Being at first from nothing, so surely he may be restored to that Being again from such a Nothing. For it seems to be a Work of greater difficulty to give a Beginning to what is not, than a Restoration of Being to what has been. Do you believe that which is vanished from our short Sight, to be lost to God ? For all Bodies, whether dry'd to Powder, or dissolv'd to Water, or crumbled to Ashes, or attenuated to Smoak, are lost to us indeed, but God, the Almighty Guardian of the Elements, has 'em still in reserve as much as ever. Nor are we under sad Apprehensions of suffering any Loss for want of ^k *Interment*, as you vainly imagin ; but only look

ⁱ *Nihil esse post obitum, & ante ortum nihil fuisse.]* Upon this Passage Mr. Davies has justly taken Notice, that there is no reason to conclude with the Learned *Dupin*, that *Minucius* believ'd the Soul to dye with the Body. I have likewise observ'd the same in the Preliminary to this Author, and clear'd him from that Asperion ; and if we consider that *Justin Martyr*, and from him *Tertullian*, (who are both express for the Immortality of the Soul) do both argue the possibility of a Resurrection from the like Confessions, we can hardly question whether *Minucius*, who in this Dialogue has borrow'd so much from *Tertullian*, did not follow the Sence of his *Countrypman* in this Point also. For the *Nihil* here is us'd just in the same Signification, and upon the same Subject, as it is us'd by *Tertullian Ap. cap. 48.* and is to be understood according to the Vulgar, who concluded *Nothing* to exist that was not visible. There needs nothing more than to consider this Passage as it stands in the Translation.

^k *Nec, ut creditis, ullum dannum Sepulturae timemus, sed veterem & meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus.]* In an Epistle of the Churches of Vienna, and Lyons in France, to those in

Jook upon Inhumation as the most ancient and most decent way of Burial. Behold, how all Nature is at work to comfort us with Images
of

Asia and Phrygia, we find that the Heathens after many vain and fruitless Attempts to suppress the Christian Religion, by inflicting the cruellest Torments on the Professors of it, which they bravely endur'd, looking for a joyful Resurrection, at last thought of a way, as they fondly imagin'd, to deprive them of that too; which was by taking the Bodies of the Martyrs after they had lain expos'd six Days in the open Air to all sorts of Contempt and Injury, and burning them to Ashes, and then scattering those Ashes upon the River *Rhodanus*, with this insulting Challenge, *Let us now see whether they can rise again, and whether the God they worship can help them, and deliver them out of our Hands.* Vid. *Euseb. Hist. Ecc.* l. 5. cap. 1. Tacitus observes of the *Jews*, that in opposition to the Roman Custom, they did not burn the Bodies of the Dead, but buried them under Ground after the manner of the *Egyptians*, *Corpora condere, quam cremare, è more Egyptio.* *Hist.* l. 5. It is observ'd by others also of the *Egyptians*, Θάνατοι ἢ Αἰγυπτίοις μὲν ταεῖχδούσες· ρωμαῖοις ἢ Καλούσες· Παῖοντες ἢ εἰς τὰς λιμνὰς πιπήνθες. *Laert. Pyrr.* But the *Jews* in this, no more follow'd the *Egyptians* than the *Persians*, for they did not make use of the Egyptian *taeīchdōsīs*; and differ'd also as much from the *Grecians* as the *Romans*; ὁ μὲν Ἑλλην ἔκαυσεν· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης ἔθαψεν· ὁ δὲ Ἰρδός ψάλων τείχελε· ὁ δὲ Σκύθης κατέστι· ταεῖχδης δὲ ὁ Αἰγυπτίος. *Lucian. τελ. πένθες.* Certain then it is, that the general Custom among the *Jews* was to Inter; and it is as certain, that they received not this Custom from the *Egyptians*, because *Abraham* at the first purchas'd a burying Place. The same way of Interment was follow'd by the Christians, who (as I have already mention'd) were at very great expence in Embalming their Dead with the most precious Ointments and Spices, which they refus'd when living. This they did from our Saviour's Commendation of the Woman who pour'd the precious Ointment upon him a little before his Death; and from the honourable mention of those who express'd their Affections to our Lord, in taking so much care, and being at so much expence about his Funeral. *Verum istae autoritates non hoc admonent quod insit ullus cadaveribus sensus: Sed ad Dei providentiam, cui placent etiam talia pietatis officia, corpora quoque mortuorum pertinere significant, propter fidem Resurrectionis astriuendam.* *S. August. de civitate Dei. lib. 1. cap. 13.* And 'tis very remarkable, that Julian the Apostate writing to an Idolatrous High-Priest, puts him in mind of those Things by which he thought the Christian Religion, ή ἀθεϊσμα the *Atheism*

of our future Resurrection ! The Sun sets and rises again ; the Stars glide away and return ; the Flowers die and revive ; the Trees put forth afresh, after the decays of Age ; and *that which thou sowest is not quicken'd, except it dye.* And just so may our Bodies lie in the Grave 'till the Season of Resurrection. Why then so hasty for a Resurrection in the dead of Winter ? We must wait with patience for the Spring of Human Bodies. Nor am I ignorant, that many Men, out of Consciousness of their Demerits, do more heartily wish for Annihilation after Death, than really believe it ; for they had much rather be utterly extinguish'd, than rais'd again to Punishment. And the Error of these Men gathers strength by their present Impunity, and by the exceeding patience of that God, whose Judgment the slower it comes, the more it demonstrates his Justice.

theism (for so he terms Christianity) gain'd most upon the World, and recommends them to the Practise of the Heathen Priests. Of these he reckons three, *η ὡεὶ τὸς Σέργος φιλανθρωπία, their Kindness to Strangers, οὐεὶ τὰς ταφὰς τὸν νεκρῶν περομίθετα, their Care for the Burial of their Dead, καὶ τεπλασμόν σεμνότης καὶ βίον· and the Formal Gravity of their Carriage.* Epist. 49. ad Arsacium. Valesius in his Notes upon Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, l. 9. c. 8. p. 186. says 'tis difficult to conjecture when the Romans first began to leave off the Custom of burning the Bodies of the Dead ; but they seem (he saith) to have taken up the Practice from the Jews and Christians, and brings this remarkable Passage out of Macrobius, lib. 7. Saturnal. cap. 7. *Deinde licet urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro seculo nullus sit, lectio tamen docet, eo tempore quo igni dari bonos mortuis habebatur, &c.* This, however, is certain, that as Christianity prevail'd, so the Christian Rites of Burial prevail'd also, and after a few Emperors turn'd Christians, there was not a Body burnt in all the Roman Empire; as Macrobius testifies, who liv'd in the time of Theodosius Junior.

XXXIV. And yet Men are told of these Things both from Philosophers and Poets ; they are advertiz'd of the burning River, and of the *Stygian* Lake, and that manifold Fence of Fire about it, prepar'd for eternal Torments. These are Traditions gather'd partly from the Confession of the Dæmons, and partly from the Oracles of the Prophets ; and therefore the most tremendous Oath that King *Jove* himself can take, is to swear by these broyling Banks, and this horrid Gulph of Darkness. For having a fore-knowledge of these Things, he shivers at the Tortures destin'd for him and his worshippers, Tortures that know not either end or measure. For there the subtle Fire burns and repairs, consumes and nourishes ; and as Lightnings wast not the Bodies they blast, and as *Hætna* and *Vesuvius*, and other Mounts of Fire burn, and are not expended with burning ; so these penal Flames of Hell are not fed from the diminutions of the Damn'd, but are fuell'd from the Bodies they prey upon without consuming. And none but the Prophane can be under donbt, whether those are not punish'd deservedly as unjust and impious, who are Atheists, or know not God ; for I look upon it as great a Crime to be Ignorant of the Father, and Proprietor of all Things, as to offend him. And altho' the not knowing God is Crime enoughe for Punishment, as the true knowledge of him is the ready way to Pardon, yet in point of Virtue, as well as Knowledge, if we Christians are compar'd with you Heathens, I doubt not, (tho' our Religion may not have
that

that¹ Exterior, or shew of Devotion in some Things as yours has,) but we shall be found the better Men. For you prohibit Adulteries, and practise 'em, we keep inviolably to our own Wives only ; you punish Wickedness in the Overt Act, and we look upon it as Criminal, when it goes no farther than the bare Thought ; you dread the Consciousness of others, and we stand in awe of nothing but our own Consciences, without which we cannot be Christians. And lastly, your Prisons are in a manner stifled with Criminals, but they are all Heathens, not a Christian there, but either a Confessor, or an Apostate.

XXXV. Nor let any of you snatch at Comfort, or Excuse, from^m Destiny ; for be the event what it will, the Mind is certainly free ;

¹ *Quamvis in nonnullis disciplina nostra minor est.*] This Passage is otherwise understood by *Heraldus*, than 'tis here translated, and therefore I shall give it the Reader in his Sense, altho' in some Christians there is not that strictnes of Religion which is to be wish'd for, yet in general we shall upon Comparison be found the better Men.

^m *Nec de fato quisquam aut solatum captet, aut excusat.*] From hence, and the foregoing Apologies, we may see that Predestination in the rigid Sense, was no Doctrine of the Church in the first and purest Times ; there is a natural Turpitude in Vice, and Man finding strong Inclinations to Sin, and being ashame'd of it when done, contriv'd this expedient of Destiny to justify himself, and throw the Shame of it upon his Maker ; our First Parents led the way, *The Woman that Thou gavest me*, (says *Adam*) She betray'd me, and the Woman laid her Fault upon the Devil ; and Posterity praise the Slaying, for their Children when they do ill are still apt to say, *We cou'd not help it.* But not to enter upon this perplexed Point, I only say, that we feel our selves free Creatures, as evidently as we feel any thing in the World ; and therefore when we argue for Fate, we argue against our Senses ; what the constitution of a free Agent is we know not, but that we are so constituted, we can tell ; or we can tell nothing.

and therefore the Man shall be judg'd for the Actions which are in his own Power, and not for his Quality or good Fortune, which is not at his own dispose. For what else is Fate, than what God has *Fated*, or pronounc'd, shall be the condition of every one of us? Who by reason of his ~~Conscience~~^{Conscience} can foresee what all our Actions will be, and therefore has fore determin'd the Fate of each according to his Merits. And thus it is not the Quality of our Birth, but the depravity of our Wills, we shall be punish'd for. And let this suffice for Fate at present, and tho' our time will not admit of more, yet shall we take another opportunity to dispute this point more particularly, and at large. But whereas many of us are reproach'd with Poverty, I must tell you, that we look upon it not as our Infamy, but our Honour. For as the Mind is broke by Luxury, so is it confirm'd by Frugality. And yet who can be said to be Poor, who finds himself in no Want? Who has no gapings after another's Possessions, who is Rich in God. He rather is the Poor Wretch who is necessitous in the midst of Plenty. To speak

" *Ac de fato satis, vel si pauca pro tempore, disputaturi aliis uberrimus & plenius.*] St. Jerome says, that in his time there was a Book *de Fato* attributed to *Minucius Felix*, but tho' this might be the Work of a Man of Parts, yet it was not written in the same Stile with this Dialogue; it is from hence evident, that *Octavius* promises to treat more largely of Destiny upon another Occasion, but to tell whether he did it or no, or whether this Treatise extant in St. Jerome's was the same with that here promis'd, or whether this Promise gave occasion to some other Author to forge a Discourse of Destiny under the Name of *Minucius*, are things not in our power positively to determine.

my Mind freely, there is no Man can be Poorer than he came into the World. The Birds live without a Patrimony, and the Beasts are provided for from Day to Day, and yet all these are made for us ; and the Christian Art of possessing all Things, is by desiring Nothing. And therefore as a Traveller, the lighter he is, the easier he finds himself ; so in this Journey of Life, happier he who is lighten'd by Poverty, than he who groans under a load of Riches. Nevertheless did we conclude Riches necessary, we shou'd ask 'em of God ; that he, who is the Proprietor of all Things, wou'd indulge us something. But we had much rather be able to despise Riches, than to possess them. Innocence is the top of our Desire, Patience the thing we beg for ; and we had rather be profusely Good, than extravagantly Rich. And tho' we lye under Afflictions of Body, which as Men we are expos'd to, yet we look upon this, not as our Punishment, but our Warfare. For our Courage is fortify'd by Afflictions, and Calamity is most often the School of Virtue ; and the Powers both of Body and Mind flag for want of Exercise. All your own Heroes whom you thus preach up for Examples to us, advanc'd themselves to this Honour by their Sufferings. It is not therefore, that we are such Sufferers, because our God is either unable, or unwilling to help us ; since he is both the Sovereign of the World, and a Lover of his Servants. But he trys and examines us by Adversity, and makes Misfortunes the Touchstone of our Tempers ; and proves

the Will of Man to the last Extremity, even unto Death, well knowing that nothing can be lost to him. And therefore, we are no otherwise prov'd by Afflictions, than Gold is purify'd by the Fire.

XXXVI. How fair a spectacle in the sight of God, is a Christian, ent'ring the Lists with Affliction, and with a noble Firmness combatting Menaces, Racks and Tortures? When with a disdainful Smile he marches to Execution thro' the Clamours of the People, and insults the Horrors of the Executioner? When he bravely maintains his Liberty against Kings and Princes, and submits to God alone, whose Servant he is? When like a Conqueror, he triumphs over the Judge that condemns him? For he certainly is Victorious who obtains what he fights for. What Soldier will not dare Dangers under the Eye of his General? For none receives the *Premium* before proof of his Courage; and yet the General can give no more than he can. He may crown the Soldiery with Honours, but with length of Days he cannot. But a Soldier of God is neither abandon'd in Misery, nor lost in Death. And thus, tho' a Christian may seem to be miserable, yet in reality he can never be so. Some Sufferers you yourselves exalt to the Skies, such as *Mucius Scaevola*, who having miss'd of his aim in killing a King, voluntarily burnt the mistaking Hand, and so saved his Life by his hardiness. And how many Persons are there amongst us, who have suffer'd not only their Hand, but their whole Body to be burnt without

out

out complaining, when their Deliverance was in their own Power? But why do I go about to compare our Men with your *Mucius*, or *Aqilius*, or *Regulus*, when our very Children, our Sons and our Daughters, by an inspired Patience, make a meer Jest of your Gibbets, and Racks, and wild Beasts, and all your other Scare-crows of Cruelty. And is not this enough to convince you, O Wretches, that nothing but the strongest Reasons cou'd persuade Men to suffer at this rate, and nothing less than Almighty Power support 'em in their Sufferings? I can't tell why you shou'd not think thus of Christians, unless it be that you are misled by seeing such as know not God, flow in Riches, and loaded with Honours and Power. Alas, poor Wretches! They are lifted the higher, on purpose to make their Fall the heavier. They are fatted, but like Beasts for Slaughter, and crown'd like Victims for Sacrifice. Nay, some are raised up to Empires and Dominions, on purpose to be a Prey to rascally Sycophants, who are freely indulg'd to flatter 'em out of their Senses, and to make Merchandise of their Inclinations. For without the Knowledge of God, what solid Happiness can there be in all they enjoy? When Worldly Happiness without this Divine Knowledge is no better than Death, and like a Dream, vanishes away before we can lay hands on't. Are you an Emperor, suppose? Why, you fear no less than you are fear'd; and tho' you have your Guards about you, yet alone, you find your self in Danger. Are you Rich?

But let me tell you, 'tis ill trusting to Fortune, and such an unwieldy Equipage for this short Journey of Life is not necessary, but burthen som. You fancy perhaps you look big in your Purples, and other Badges of Honour; but pray remember, there is not a more contemptible Idol, or a vainer Instance of Human Folly, than to shine in Purple with a ragged Mind. Are you nobly descended, and full of your Ancestors? Yet know that we all come into the World alike, and stand really distinguish'd by Virtue alone. We therefore who compute our Nobility not by Blood, but by our Manners, do with good reason Renounce your Sinful Pleasures, Pomps and Spectacles, whose Original with respect to their Sacredness, and whose pernicious allurements to Sin, we both alike condemn. For in your *Circensian Games*, who can but abhor the Madness of the People clamouring on different Sides? As for your *Gladiatorial Diversions*, who can sit with ease in that School of Murder? And for your Theatres, there also the Extravagance is not less, but the Lewdness longer. For one while the Mimick either recites Adulteries, or shews them; another while the Lascivious Actor plays the Gallant, and kindles the Passion he feigns. He likewise vilifies your Gods by personating their Rapes, Sighs and Discords. And so also by a well dissembled Sorrow, and hypocritical Gestures, he sets you a crying to the Life. Thus are you Mad upon Murder in good earnest, and yet forsooth cannot bear it in Fable without a Tear.

XXXVII. But whereas we will not communicate with you in the remains of your Meat and Drink-Offerings, 'tis not an Argument of Superstition, but an Assertion of our true Liberty, *our Deliverance from Demon-worship*. For tho' ev'ry Thing for the Use of Man, as it is the incorruptible Provision, or Gift of God, cannot be the worse for Food, by thus abusing it upon Devils ; yet, however, we come not near it, for fear of giving occasion to conclude, either that we are in the Service of those Demons whose Sacrifices we partake of, or else that we are ashame'd of our own Religion. But farther, who can think us so scrupulous, that we dare not give ourselves the Indulgence of a Spring-Flower, when he sees us gather the Rose and Lilie of the Spring, and ev'ry thing else of this kind, that is of an inviting Colour and Fragrancy ? We spread Flowers loose upon our Couches, and wear 'em in Posies about our Necks ; but for wearing 'em in Chaplets upon our Heads, in that you must pardon us. For 'tis our way to take in the Scent of an agreeable Flower with our Nostrils, and not with our Hair, and not to think our Noses on the backside of our Heads. Nor do we crown our Dead with Garlands ; and I much rather wonder at you for so doing, for placing a Light before the Dead, if insensible ; or for crowning him with Flowers, if sensible ; for if he be Happy, he feels no Want ; and if Miserable, he is Miserable beyond the refreshment of Flowers. But as for us, we celebrate the Funerals of our Dead

with the same decency and quiet we live ; we dress up no withering Garland, but the never-fading Crown of Glory we expect from God ; we, who sit down contented with the Liberality of our God in this Life, who live above Fears under the Hopes of future Felicity, and are animated in these Hopes by the Assurances we now have of that Divine Majesty which is so present to us in time of Need. Thus Happy shall we find our selves in the Resurrection, and blessed all our Life long do we find our selves in the contemplation of what shall be. Much good may do then, *Socrates the Athenian Scoffer*, with his *Nibil Scire*, with his confessedly profound Ignorance, ennobl'd for this Confession by the Testimony of a most lying Devil. Let *Arceſtas* now also, and *Carneades* and *Pyrrho*, and all the Race of *Scepticks* doubt on, and *Simonides* procrastinate for ever. We despise the haughty Tribe of Philosophers, whom we know to be Tyrants in their way, and Corrupters and Adulterers of the Truth, and always Eloquent against the Vices they practise. We wear not our Wisdom on our Beards, but in our Minds ; we talk not great Things, but live 'em. To conclude, the Sum of our boasting is, that we are got into possession of what the Philosophers have been always in quest of, and what with all their Application they cou'd never find. Why then so much ill Will, and Envy stirring amongst us, if the Divine Truth is come to perfection in our Time ? Let us make a good use of the Blessing, let us govern our Knowledge with discretion, let Superstition

stition and Impiety be no more, and let true Religion triumph in their stead.

X
XXXVIII. When *Otavius* had thus gone thro' all the Objections of *Cecilius*, we stood silent for a while, and astonish'd at his Answer; as for me, (says *Minucius*) I was perfectly lost in admiration, at what he had so excellently prov'd, and set off by Reason, Example and Authority, (things much easier conceiv'd than express'd) and to see how he had beat out the Enemy from their strong Holds, and turn'd the very Philosophers against 'em, whom they took for their Guard, and demonstrated the Truth, not only to be easily intelligible, but evidently on his side.

XXXIX. While therefore I was musing upon these things in silence, *Cecilius* cou'd contain no longer, but broke out into these Expressions: I not only congratulate my *Otavius*, but my self exceedingly; nor do I expect the determination of our Arbitrator, we are both Conquerors, and so that I can't forbear Usurping, and putting in for the chief Share in the Victory; for as *Otavius* triumphs over me, so I triumph over Error. And therefore upon summing up the Evidence I thus pronounce; I submit my self entirely to God, I acknowledge his Providence, and do publickly declare the Christian Religion, which from henceforward I call my own, to be the only true Religion. However, there are some things yet behind I want to be instructed in, not such as in any wise make against the Christian Truth, but such only as I judge necessary for a farther proficiency.

The Octavius of

proficiency in it, but it growing towards Night,
I shall stay 'till to Morrow for a fuller and
more convenient Disquisition about this whole
Matter.

XL. As for my part, said I, I must come in
also for no little share of Joy in this Victory ;
for I find my self under exceeding Transports
for all our Sakes ; that my *Octavius* is confes-
sedly come off Victor, and so hath excus'd me
from the *Odium* of pronouncing Sentence where
my Friends are concern'd. Nor can I ever suf-
ficiently commend him for his excellent Dis-
course ; the Testimony of a Man, and one Man
only, is a poor thing ; he has his exceeding re-
compence from God, who inspir'd him with
the Language, and help'd him to the Victory.
After this, we all departed in triumph ; *Cæci-*
lius full of Joy, that he was a Believer ; and
Octavius no les Joyful, that he had made him
so ; and I as well pleas'd as either, that my
Friend *Cæcilius* was Converted, and my Friend
Octavius the Converter,

A
PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE
TO THE
COMMONITORY
OF
Vincentius Lirinensis,
Concerning the
RULE of FAITH
In DEFENCE of the
Primitive Fathers.

TIS a rising Maxim, I know, and a great ease to Flesh and Blood it is, *to let every thing go as it will, and every one believe and do as he list*; but 'tis an unprimitive Maxim, and may in due time unchurch Us, as it did *Asia*: For whoever holds ~~it~~, will never burn for the Faith, but follow it afar off, and sit down and warm himself with the Crucifiers, *to see the End*. The Fundamentals of Christianity are now as freely question'd

A Preliminary Discourse

stion'd as the *Hay and Stubble*, and the most disputable Doctrines built upon them. Nay, as if a *New Faith* was to be deliver'd to the *Saints*, we are growing sick of the *Old*, and nothing will go down at present but *Rarities* in Religion. We challenge the same *Liberty* and *Property* in the Election of our *Creed* as in the Choice of our *Government*; and God himself must no more Rule over us in the one, than the other: But according to *Vincentius*, *There is no concerning Truth which is not Ancient; and what is truly New, is certainly False.* The letting licentious Books pass uncensur'd, is like letting Children say what they please: It may delight at first, but soon comes to break our Hearts. *From the Beginning it was not so.* Old *Eli* was a good Man but a bad Governour; and as such, punish'd too for our Admonition.

There is no Pretext whatever has been more serviceable to the Church of *Rome*, than a *seeming Reverence* for the *Fathers*; nor can we more effectually befriend it, than by vilifying their Authority: For though, in truth, the *Papists* pay as little deference to the *Ancients* as some who call themselves *Protestants*, yet are they much wiser than to own it. Because, after all that the most inquisitive and curious Malice can say against them, *good Christians* will be mighty apt to suspect those who rail at the Integrity of *Apostolick Men* and *Martyrs*, and the *Learned* find much reason to bless God for their Abilities: For who have so nobly defended the Church of *England* against all her Adversaries, and made such lasting Provision for their own Memories, as the *Jewel's*, *Pearson's*, *Stillingfleet's*, *Beveridge's*, *Bull's*, and such others, who studied the *Scriptures* under the direction of the *Fathers*? And that there cannot be a greater Reflection cast on any *Church*, than to say, *It is most unlike the Primitive*, we need no other Proof than the labour'd Attempts of each Party to prove their Conformity to it.

And therefore when the very Professors of Geneva are wiping off the Scales from their Eyes, and receiving Sight, and rising up in the Vindication of Primitive Doctrine and Primitive Government; for such as stile themselves *Presbyters of the Church of England*, to be making merry with the *Nakedness of the Fathers*, and with those who chuse rather to cover it; and in despight of our *venerable Reformers* and the *Canons of their own Church*, to pride themselves in their Contempt of *Antiquity*, is extremely ill-tim'd, to say no worse of it; and it is their Blindness that makes 'em Bold. As for such *Divines* as *Trade* only in *Balade* and *Banter*, and in ryming good Sense and good Manners out of Countenance, they, methinks, of all Men living might spare their Satyr upon the *Country Clergy*, for following the Primitive Chrltians in the *unprofitable Notion* of the *divine Right of Government*; who dare to be Poor, and *reside* upon their *Cures*, and be true to their Trust; and if they have not the Wit, however have the Grace, not to write as if they were *ordain'd* only to make a Jest of every thing that is Sacred. But 'tis possible such Men may be out in their *Politicks* as well as their *Divinity*, and at last write themselves out of Reputation, and not into Preferment. For if that way of *fooling* be the way to Preferment, then what wou'd have *depos'd* a *Presbyter* in the best Times will *dignify* him now. But God be praised, the *Country Clergy* have some *Lay Friends* yet, as well as those of their own Order, who think 'em Objects not of Ridicule, but Pity; *who love our Nation*, and have inrich'd us with *Libraries* to asswage the pain of Contempt and Poverty by an Application to Books, and to enable us to serve God and his People better: For which be their Memories ever precious among us, and *wheresoever in these Parishes the Gospel shall be preached, there let this also, that these Men have done, be told for a Memorial of them till the Resurrection of the Just, when*

be

A Preliminary Discourse

he that hath receiv'd a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet, shall receive a Prophet's Reward.

But one of the most *blazing Innovators* of this Age, who moves in a neighbouring Sphere, (and there for ever may he move in spight of all the Intreague to transplant him hither) is the admir'd *Le Clerc*, a sworn Enemy to the *Primitive Christians*; one who has wrote himself (poor Man) to the Stumps, to *Martyr* 'em over again, to *Gibbet* up their Names and their Doctrines, and the very Matters of Fact they all relate, especially when they seem to reflect upon the Devil, and *rejoice that the Demons were subiect unto them*; one who is *confessedly* worn out almost in the Service of the Party; that is, in debasing the *divinely-inspir'd Scriptures*, in translating the Rights, falsely so called, and in translating and commenting away the *New Testament*, and in his last Days hath done as much for the *Old*; and to *fill up his Measure*, has prefix'd his Name, and dedicated the Performance to one of the *Angels of our Church*, and wou'd fain have the World believe as if he wrote it at the Instinct and Encouragement of that learned *Prelate*; for my own part, I will not, I cannot believe it: For he has perfectly made another *Tale of a Tub* of the *Holy Scriptures*, and I had rather believe no *Bible* at all, than believe it in the Sense of that *Commentator*. I know of no Reason he has to boast his kind Reception among *English Divines*; for several, I am sure, have severely animadverted upon his unjust Censures of the ancient *Fathers*; the Reverend *Dr. Whitby*, who agrees with him only in the Person dedicated to, has given him due Correction for his perpetual Abuses throughout the *Apostolick Writings*: and the Right Reverend the *Bishop* will find a time, no doubt, to express his Resentments for the like Affront to the *Law and the Prophets* patroniz'd on him, in spight of all the *Encomiums* given him by the *Man*, whose *Commendation* is a *Blot even upon his Lordship's Exposition*. And that he may no longer

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of Sarum*

longer boast our Approbation of his *outlandish Divinity*, I have stept out of the way in the *Margin*, to give a Proof of the *Size of the Man*, both as to his Ability and his Confidence; where to shew his Parts in spoiling a *Miracle*, he has made Shipwreck of common Sense, even to a Demonstration. He will find I have been very merciful in singling out one Instance only, of the many that might be produc'd; for I assure him it would be wondrous easy to furnish out yearly a *Bibliotheca* of his own Blunders; but the living upon the worst of the best *Authors*, is a Diet I leave to this *Critick*. The Instance^a in the *Margin* is of such a kind, wherein his untutor'd Fancy

* Le Clerc. Josh. x. 12. *Quod fieri potuit insolitis Refractionibus, quibus, ut notum est, Sol nobis supra Horizontem esse videtur, cum nondum ortus sit, & jam occiderit. Idemq; in Lapponia oculis non occidit solstitialibus diebus, licet revera Horizontem subeat.* To naturalize Miracles, and thereby to undermine the Authority of Scripture which expressly asserts 'em, and is built upon 'em, he has recourse to *Refractions*; the Nature of which had he but tolerably understood, he wou'd have known how very little serviceable it is to the wretched purpose for which he alledgedeth it. For by the natural Laws hereof, as *Opticians* give 'em, 'tis impossible to make the Sun seem to stand still for a whole Day, as *Joshua* (x. 13) expressly saith it did; so that *one Day was as long as two*, as the *Author* of *Ecclesiasticus* comments on this Text, *cap. 46. v. 4.* To make an Object in a very swift and oblique Motion to the Eye to appear Quiescent for a whole Day, or which in effect is the same, to make that which is seen under different Angles and in divers Places, to appear by Refraction; as if, for many Hours, it still kept the very same place, is a Problem in *Dioptricks* yet unknown to the Masters of that Science. Our *Critick*, I find, has heard that 'tis usual for Refraction to make the Sun appear higher than it is; and thence concludes, that he can thereby raise it as high as he pleases, and without a Miracle prolong the Day to what length he will. But he will find himself much mistaken in his conclusion. For though 'tis true, that the Sun is somewhat elevated by Refraction, especially when very near the *Horizon*; yet the Angle of Elevation, when largest (as at its Rising and Setting) doth not exceed 32 Minutes, (which is about the appearing Diameter of the Sun) and this Angle gradually decreases to the Altitude of 30 Degrees, where Astronomers tell us it quite vanishes, and is no longer sensible. So that the usual bending of the Rays caused by

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Fancy cannot so easily rove, and therefore (if I mistake not) what he or his *admirers*, will scarce ever have the Hardiness to answer.

Since

their passing out of the thin *Aether* into our thicker *Atmosphere*, call'd Refraction, can in no case do him any Service to make the Sun stand still for one Moment, much less to make a Winter's Day as long, or longer than a Summer's. 'Tis well he calls the *Refractions* he makes use of, *uncommon ones*, since they are so monstrously unlike those which Nature works. But, as if it still look'd too much like Miracle, to allow any thing that is so much as *uncommon* in sacred History, in his following Words (as if he retracted the foregoing) he tells us, That *somewhat like it happens ev'ry Day at the Rising and Setting of the Sun*; and that in Lapland almost the same *Miracle* appears once or twice every Year by the most common Refraction, the Sun being there seen for several Days together, and as it were to stand still, when in truth it is quite Set under the Horizon. And this season he represents as the *Solstice*, or the Time when the Sun for some Days stands still, as it did in the *Text*. This I am sure is Art or Sincerity very *uncommon*, whatever his *Refractions* are: For it wrests the whole Frame of Heaven and Earth to countenance an Absurdity, and to impose upon unwary Readers. The *Laplanders* have no such Appearance among 'em as he quotes. The Sun at its *Solstice*, is so far from being at their *Horizon* for several Days, that it is at its utmost height in their Meridian. Directly under the North and South Poles indeed, where we know of no Inhabitants, and where the Sun Rises and Sets only by its annual Motion, the *Equator* and the *Horizon* becoming all one, its Refraction there, as at all other Horizons, is 32 Minutes; but this is so very little (as I have already told him) that it can never do him the signal Service he wou'd have it, tho' he were allow'd thus monstrously to chop the *Solstices* into the *Equinoxes*, and to confound the *Trop.* of \odot and \wp with the *Equator*. He needed not have gone so far as *Lapland* for so small a Refraction as one of 32 Minutes, for that he had at Home, if 'twould do him any Service. One thing more also I must tell him, which for good Reason he conceals from the Reader, that not only the Similitude of the Sun, but the Body it self is as truly seen through the refracted Ray at the Horizon, as through the direct one at Noon Day. But if instead of the usual refracting *Atmosphere*, he asserts from his Friend *Spinoza*, That the Sun-beams then pass'd through a much denser *Medium*; Ice, suppose, or Water, which gives a much greater bent to the Rays than the thickest Air can, the *Sine* of the Angle at *Incidence* to that of Refraction being then as 4 to 3. Yet this supposition being a very absurd one, cannot be allow'd, and if it were, it cannot do the Business he assigns it. It

Since therefore the *Plague of Innovating* is begun,
and the *Pestilence walketh not in Darkness only, but*
wasteth at Noon-day, 'tis high time to think of an

cannot be allow'd, because nothing less than a Miracle, which he cares not to be beholden to, can sustain such a Quantity of Water either Liquid or Frozen, suspended in the Air for a whole Day: The specifick Gravity of these two Elements is so very unequal, that Castles may be as easily built and inhabited in the Air by our Mechanical Critick, as Rivers of Water, or Mountains of Ice lodg'd there upon such yielding Foundations. But to perswade his Fancy, let us throw him this Impossibility also into the Bargain, yet his darling Refraction (except miraculously assisted and divested of its usual natural Properties) even then is as far as ever from serving of his turn, and helping him at a dead list. For let him have what Oceans of Water and prodigious Cakes of Ice he pleases, and in spight of all the Laws of Gravitation, let him fix 'em pendulous in the Air for as long a time as he fancies; yet, without another Miracle these pellucid gross Bodies, as to their Figure, site and measures of Refracting, must still observe the establish'd Laws of their Nature. They must consequently be somewhat plain and hang somewhat Parallel to the Horizon, from the Principles of their Generation; and for the same Natural Reasons, as Rivers here on Earth (whether Fluid or Frozen) are so. And if this be the Shape, and Site, then the Refraction of the Rays coming from above into the subjacent Ice, being as about Four to Three, they must when coming out of the superior Ice into the subjacent Air be as about Three to Four; so the superior Refraction being rectify'd by the inferior one, the Sun must appear in the same Place as if look'd at in a direct Line, through the same Medium, and without any other visible Effects of Refraction, then when shinning on us through a common Glass Window.

A bold and boundless Fancy, as our *Critick's* is, may still rove on, and form ten thousand Shapes and Situations of Ice and Rivers in the Clouds in spight of *Hydrostaticks*, and draw as many beloved Consequences from 'em, in spight of *Opticks*. For he that is no Friend to *Scripture-Miracles* may be the more fond of those which are of his own making. But instead of thus amusing the Ignorant, and tickling the Profane with his audacious *Potuit's* and precarious *Pent Etre's* and *May be's*, (which I am not the first who has charg'd him with) he had much better condescend to learn Philosophy from the *Moderns*, and Divinity from the *Ancients*; else in ev'ry Book that he obtrudes on the Publick, he may be thus exposing himself to the Correction of the Learned and the Pity of the Pious. For he must never think, that the new Advancements in Philosophy, and the old Establishments in Divinity, *Fathers*, *Bible* and *all*, will be turn'd out of Doors to make room for his eternal *Bibliotheques* and free *Comments*.

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Antidote, and to be as Industrious in Saving, as others are in the Arts of Destruction. Upon this view I thought it proper to conclude with this *Preservative against Novelties in Religion*; it being recommended by the best *Criticks* as a short but excellent and judicious *Tra&t*, concerning the *Rule of Faith*, the *Necessity of Church-Communion*, and the *just Authority of the Primitive Fathers, &c.* And I am in hopes, by the Blessing of God, that it may prove a *Receipt of good Use* in an Age, when so many are for *living without Jesus Christ in the World*; when *Rule and Faith, Communion, Church and Priesthood*, are all cry'd down for *pious Frauds, Priestcraft*, and the *Cant only of the gowz'd Tribe* for the Benefit of the *Impostors*. The *divinely inspir'd Writings* we profess to be our *Rule*, and our only perfect *Rule of Faith and Manners*; but we say withal, that the *Ancients* were not only the faithful *Guardians* of the *sacred Depositum*, but the ablest *Interpreters* also of that *Rule*; and that their *Writings* are left too for our *Admonition, upon whom the Ends of the World are come*. And therefore the mighty Applications of late to get 'em out of the Way, put me in mind of the *whining of the Wolves in the Fable*, who wou'd enter into *Alliance with the Sheep, provided they wou'd put away their Dogs*.

Vincentius indeed is the youngest by much of the *Ancients* here translated, but his want of *Antiquity* is considerably ballanc'd by some peculiar Advantages in the Time he liv'd. According to his own Account he compos'd this *Commonitory* about three Years after the Council of *Ephesus*, in CCCCXXXIV, a Time when the Church had been extremely pester'd with successive *Plagues of various Heresy*, which put the *Orthodox* upon distinguishing and wording themselves with all the Care and Correctness imaginable, to provide (if possible) against such as *lay in wait to deceive and wrest ev'ry loose unguarded Expression*. A Time, when by the Advantage of *General Councils*, all the *wisest*

wisest Heads in Christendom had been lately confederate to deliver the World from Error, and to insure Posterity from the Powers of Darkness; and when, by a joint Examination of *Holy Scripture*, and by the most diligent re-searches into the Doctrine and Practice of *Apostolick Churches*, and into the general Consent of the earliest and most approv'd Writers of ev'ry Age down to themselves, they had distinctly and fully explain'd the *Creed*, and stated, defin'd, and settl'd all the necessary Points, either of Doctrine or Government. In this advantageous Time, I say it was, that our *Vincentius* liv'd, and in this instructing Age, and after the most serious and utmost Application to the best Men and the best Books, and under the Assistance of a blessed Retirement (as he himself tells us) he compos'd this *Rule of Faith*; and he has done it with much Fidelity, Clearness and Eloquence. Compose it he did, it seems, for his own private Use; for he concluded a Right Faith as necessary to Salvation as a Right Practice; and therefore, though he had taken Sanctuary in his beloved *Harbour of a Monastery* from the Embarrassments of a military Life, and lock'd himself up from the glittering Temptations of the World, for a freer devoting of himself to the Practice of Christian Morality; yet cou'd he not be satisfy'd, or think himself wise unto Salvation, till he, like a wise Builder, had made sure of the Foundation, and examin'd the Principles of his Faith; First, by the *Holy Scriptures*, then by the unanimous Consent of the most ancient Fathers; and lastly, by the definitions of the Catholick Church in Council. This was the Method, these the Pains *Vincentius* look'd upon himself oblig'd to take for the security of his Faith, and consequently what he thought all others oblig'd to likewise, under the same advantages of Ability and Leisure.

He was by Nation a Frenchman, and after a wearisome Tour in the Wars, retir'd to a Monastery in

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the Isle of *Lerins*, where he enter'd into Holy Orders, and was none of the least Ornaments of the Church. He was the Brother of *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes*, saith *Eucherius*, who, for the brightness of his Devotion and the inward Beauties of his Mind, calls him, *Interno Gemmam splendore perspicuam*. But the intrinck Worth and Splendor of this *Jewel* sparkles in ev'ry Page of his Book, the Subject of which I now hasten to, having more fully set forth in the Notes what I thought necessary to be known of his Person.

The design then of this little Treatise is to deliver well dispos'd Christians from the false and perplexing Glosses of *Hereticks*, and to shew 'em how, and when they may rest satisfy'd in their *Creed* without any farther Doubt or Scruple about it, notwithstanding all the loud and dazzling Pretences to *Infallibility*, or such as set up for a discovery of New Matters of Faith. The Rules he prescribes for coming to this *indubitable certainty*, are these Two, First, That we settle our Faith upon the *Authority of Scripture*. Secondly, Upon the *Tradition of the Catbolick Church*. But since Men will be putting the Question—*If the Canon of Scripture be perfect, and abundantly sufficient in all respects, what need can there be of Ecclesiastical Tradition?* He answers—For finding out the *true Sense of Scripture*, which is differently interpreted by *Novatianus*, *Photinus*, *Sabellius*, and other Hereticks. After which he tells us what he means by *Ecclesiastical Tradition*; *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*. *That which hath Antiquity, Universality, and the Consent of all joining in the Belief of it.*

In exact conformity to this Rule, the Church of England professeth to defend and maintain no other Doctrine than that which is *truly Catbolick and Apostolick*; and for such warranted not only by the written Word of God, but also by the concurrent Testimonies of the *ancient Fathers*. For in a Synod Anno MDLXXI. amongst other Canons she set forth

forth this, for the direction of the Clergy. That they should never teach any thing as Matter of Faith religiously to be observ'd, but that which is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and collected out of the same by the Catholick Fathers and ancient Bishops of the Church, lib. Can. Eccles. Ang. cap. 6. p. 19. 'Tis true indeed, that ev'ry Popish Priest takes an Oath never to interpret the Scriptures otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers; and at the same time swears—Without the least doubt to receive and profess all other things which have been deliver'd, defin'd, and declar'd by the sacred Canons and OEcumenical Councils, and especially by the Holy Synod of Trent; that is, they have more especially sworn to believe without the least doubt, a dozen fresh Articles never heard of by the Ancients, much less admitted into the Creed of any Primitive Church.

Out of this monstrous *Wen* which is now grown to the Body of the Nicene Faith, one Article is *Transubstantiation*; and when Men have renounc'd their *senses* upon Oath, and sworn themselves blind, they are readily dispos'd to swear to the *truth* of any *Colour*: Which makes me less wonder, when I find so many Romish Writers, and the Commentators in particular, boasting of our *Vincentius* as a *Champion* of their Church. One must conclude 'em verily out of their *senses*, or worse, in thus doing; for surely never Men were more unlucky in the choice of a *Champion* than the Papists are in the choice of him: For had *Vincentius* been assited with a prophetick Vision of the future Corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, he cou'd hardly have express'd himself more clearly against it. The whole Design and Bent of his Book is directly against all Innovations in the Faith, and for sticking inviolably to the *Creed* as then explain'd, and always understood by the *Apostolick Churches*, which though (as he saith) somewhat enlarg'd in Bulk by reason of the new *Heresies* it provided against, yet was the Growth

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perfectly Natural, and it differ'd no more in *Essentials* than a Man differs from a Child. Whereas the *Trent-Additions* have made a meer *Centaur* of a Creed, and there is no more Affinity between the *Old* and their *New of Rule Faith*, than between a *Man* and a *Horse*. So that I am not bold in affirming, that we shall never know when a *Man* is writing for or against us, if this *Commonitory* is not expressly on our side; and it is as notable an *Irony* to say, that *Vincentius* has been writing for the *Church of Rome*, as that the *King of France* is fighting for the *Liberties of England*. The abuse is so palpable, that I dare leave it to the judgment of any impartial Reader without any more ado.

But because the whole *Fabrick* of this Book is built upon this *secondary Fundamental*, viz. That *the sense of the Primitive Church is the Rule we are to go by in the Interpretation of Scripture, especially as to Matters of Faith*; and because the *Interpreters* now a Days are perpetually running Divisions upon the *sacred Text*, and turning it like a *Nose of Wax* to ev'ry purpose, I shall in compliance with the main Design of my Author, in justification of the *Canons* of our own *Church*, and in confirmation of what I have been advancing in the general Preface, farther endeavour to make out this most important Question, concerning the Authority of the *Primitive Fathers*.

Tertullian tells us, that about his Time there were some Hereticks extravagant enough to call in question the Ability of the *Apostles* themselves, and to give out, * *That they were not sufficiently acquainted with all necessary Revelations, and in the like franck Mood contradicted themselves again in the same Breath, saying, That the Apostles indeed did know*

* Non omnia Apostolos scisse, eadem agitati dementia quā rursus convertunt; Omnia quidem Apostolos scisse, sed non omnia omnibus tradidisse; in utroque Christum reprobationi subjicientes, Qui anginis Instructos, aut parvū simplices Apostolos miserit. *Præscript. Contra. Haeret. cap. 22.*

all things, but that they did not teach all they knew to the World; In both Cases laying Christ under the scurvy imputation, of sending out Apostles either not so well instructed, or not so honest as they should be. And a little after he tells us, ^b That in order to set a Mark upon the Ignorance of the Apostles, they urge, that Peter and his Companions were reprimanded by Paul; and therefore, say they, there must be some failure in them; and thus, they say, purely to make way for this conclusion, That a more plentiful effusion of Wisdom might possibly have since come down upon them, just as it happen'd to Paul, when he reprimanded his Predecessors in the Faith. In like manner some of our modern Criticks and Libertines, to prepare a way for their Bibliothecques and Antichristian Comments, wou'd bear down the World, that all the ancient Martyrs and Confessors were a Crew of Old good for nothing Priests only; and according to late Father Dryden, and the Author of the *History of Religion*, never make any distinction between Heathen, Turkish, Popish or Protestant Priests; but in general, wou'd have Priest pass for the most ridiculous, scoundrel Name upon Earth, and wou'd (if they durst) in the same sense call our Saviour, the old High Priest. They wou'd fain have the People believe that they are the hugeous Men of Parts, of Penetration and clear Ideas; and that all the Primitive Fathers were as meer Grasshoppers in comparison of them; that they were out in the relations of Fact, weak in their Reasonings, and inconsistent in their Conclusions.

But this is an idle Calumny which I have already answer'd, and therefore shall say only with

^b Proponunt ergo ad suggillardum Ignorantiam aliquam Apostolorum, quod Petrus &c. Qui cum eo, reprobensi sunt a Paulo. Adeo, inquit, aliquid eis defuit; ut ex hoc etiam illud struant, potuisse postea plenioram scientiam supervenire, qualis obvenerit Paulo reprobanti Antecessores.

an old Priest^c, That if they agreed in nothing else, they agreed, I hope, in Martyrdom; and this is a Doctrine our Anti-primitives, I believe, love their Skins too well, ever to agree in. For if ever the Gnats and the Flies (as *Vincentius* calls the Hereticks of his Time) who make such a buzz with their Penetration, if ever the witlings of this Age, shou'd by their Devil-craft prevail over the Giants of Old, then farewell Gospel and Government either in Church or State: For when they become the ruling interpreters of the Scriptures, they will put a Crown on their Head and a Reed in their Hands, and bow before them, and cry, Hail King of the Jews; make a mighty shew, of God knows what Respect and Reverence for his Word, and after all, crucify it to what Sense they please.

The Sum then of what I have to add here in Vindication of *Vincentius's Rule of Faith*, shall be taken out of *Tertullian's Prescription against Hereticks*; not so much upon the Authority of that Father, (tho' he is very ancient) as for the intrinsick goodness of his Arguments; and withal to shew, that our Author was not blinded with a mere implicit Reverence for Antiquity, but that his Veneration was the mature issue of long Study and found Judgment; as he has evidently made appear in his Characters of *Origen* and *Tertullian*, where he has laid on fine Colours with a masterly Hand and signal Impartiality, in not sparing their Vices for our security, and yet doing Justice also to their virtues; whereby he has approv'd himself an able and sincere lover of Truth.

Tertullian then tells^d us, that in his Time there were some Hereticks whose Tongues were continually ripe with Gospel, and always running in Bible-phrase; The Scripture, the Scripture was the cry, and by Scripture only wou'd they be try'd. The Cant

^c Bene quod Petrus Paulus &^d in Martyrio adequatur. *Tertullian.*
Præscr. cap. 24. ^e *Præscript. cap. 15.*

it seems, made a mighty impression upon some Folks, and brought no small Gain unto the Craftsmen. Upon which Tertullian takes 'em to task, and lets 'em know in the first place, that notwithstanding all this godly Clamour, they had no right to a *Scripture Disputation*, as being *Hereticks* and not ⁴ *Christians*. That by the Apostles Order, *a Man that is an Heretick, after the first and second Admonition, is to be rejected*, and not after Disputation; and this because such a one stands *self condemn'd*, the Fault lying not in his Understanding but his Will; and therefore that wilful Perverseness which calls for a Censure upon an *Heretick*, forbids disputing with him. And after all (says he) what Good is like to come of such a *Scripture Combat*? For this *Heresy* receives not some ⁴ *Scriptures*, and if it receives some it receives 'em not entire, and if entire, then you may be sure they'll interpret away the Sense of 'em; and whatever Conviction they lie under, they cannot possibly be brought to a Confession of the Truth, but obstinately stick to their *Adulterations*, or their own ambiguous *Expositions*: And moreover, they are ⁵ oblig'd to retort and say, that 'tis we who have adulterated the *Scriptures* and clapt false *Glosses* upon 'em. The first Point therefore to be made out and settl'd, is, *In whose Hands the pure genuine Scriptures are deposited; from whom, and by whom, and when, and to whom the Doctrine was first deliver'd that makes Men Christians*; and wherever this true Christian Doctrine and Discipline shall appear to be, there the true genuine *Scriptures*, the true *Interpretation* of those *Scriptures*, and all the true Christian Traditions will appear to be also.

In order therefore ⁶ then to make out this most con-

⁴ Cap. 16.

⁵ *Ista heresis non recipit quasdam Scripturas*, &c. cap. 17.

⁶ *Necesse est enim by illos dicere, a Nobis potius adulteria Scripturarum*, &c. cap. 18.

⁷ Cap. 20.

cerning Question, it is to be remember'd, that just upon our Lord's Ascension he commission'd his Apostles to go and disciple all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Accordingly the Apostles having receiv'd the promis'd Assistance of the Holy Spirit to work Miracles and speak with Tongues, they proclaim'd the Faith in Jesus Christ first in Judaea; and there planted Churches, and thence went out into all the Ends of the Earth, and publish'd the same Faith to the Gentiles, and constituted Churches in ev'ry City; from whom the other Churches deriv'd their first Principles and Seeds of Doctrine, and from whom also other Churches do daily derive, or they could not be true Churches. For this Reason likewise they have the Reputation of Apostolick; because they are the Offspring of Apostolick Churches: For ev'ry Kind must be trac'd up to its Original. Now as from that one Church planted by the Apostles sprung up so many flourishing Churches, so to all these is the Title of Primitive and Apostolick Churches due also, while they live in the Unity of the same Faith and in brotherly Love and Communion with one another; and nothing cou'd make 'em do so and preserve these sacred Rights intire, but the Tradition of one and the same Doctrine and Discipline. Here then it is (says this Primitive Priest) I prescribe ⁱ and fix, that the Truth of our Religion can no otherwise be prov'd than by its conformity to those very Churches which the Apostles planted, to which they themselves preached as well by Word of Mouth, as by Writing.

If this then be the Case, 'tis evident that ev'ry Doctrine which conspires in the same Faith with these Apostolick Mother Churches, is to be receiv'd for true, and for the very same Doctrine undoubtedly which the Churches receiv'd from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God. And consequently

ev'ry other Doctrine is to be condemn'd as spurious, that favours not of the Truth of these Churches, and of the Apostles, and of Christ, and of God. All then to be prov'd in short is this, That the Doctrine we preach has a just indisputable Title to the Claim of *Apostolick Tradition*; and this will be a demonstration of its Truth, and of the Falsity likewise of all *Heretical Innovations*. And our Title to *Apostolical Tradition* will from hence appear unquestionable, because we communicate with the *Apostolick* Churches, and there is not one of our Churches which maintains any Doctrine different from what is taught in the Churches planted by the very Apostles themselves. And this entire Harmony and Agreement is the most convincing Proof imaginable, that we are orthodox and sound in the Faith.

After this he replies at large to a most absurd Objection (for what will not *Heresicks* object?) viz. That the Apostles Commission to preach was not full and perfect, and therefore they did not deliver ev'ry necessary Article to the Churches they planted. I do not find that this Objection has been new dress'd of late, by any of our *vampers up of old Heresies*; but something like has been attempted; The *Canon of the New Testament* (which our *Vincentius* calls *complete and perfect*) has been question'd and peck'd at by *J. T.* in his *Amyator*; but the *Canon* has been sufficiently vindicated, and the *dabler* in *Antiquity* solidly refuted and silenc'd by the late Reverend and Learned Mr. *John Richardson*. By a *nameless Critick* also (whom all the World knows by his *Novelty* and his *Confidence*) the *sacred Canon* has been maim'd in a vital Part, by his endeavouring to prove, that the Apostles were not perpetually inspir'd and superintended by the Holy Ghost in all they wrote; (though if an *Angel* should *preach any other Gospel*, he was to be *accursed*) yet since these *Innovators* care not to speak out, and expressly to call in question the sufficiency of the divinely inspir'd *Writers*, I shall wave *Tertullian's*

answer

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answer to this Objection, observing one Passage only which I wou'd have our Father-haters take notice of, and it is this — *Quanquam et si Quædam inter Domesticos, ut ita dixerim, differebant; non tamen ea fuisse credendum est, quæ aliam Fidei Regulam superinducerent,* &c. cap. 26. For although among their Domesticks, as I may so call 'em, they (the Apostles) discours'd of some things more fully (which to me is a good Reason for a greater deference to the Writings of Ignatius and Apostolick Men, than to the Criticisms of any modern Commentator) yet are we not to imagine that they were of such a Nature as to superinduce another Rule of Faith.

But the following * Objection which the Hereticks flung in the way of the Faithful, is much to our purpose, and worthy our Consideration, and it is this; That supposing the Apostles to have express'd themselves fully and clearly, yet the Churches perhaps might misunderstand and misconstrue 'em. And that they did so (say they) is evident from these Reproofs—*O foolish Galatians who hath bewitch'd you?* And again, *Ye did run well, who did binder you?* I marvel that you are so soon remov'd from him that called you into the Grace of Christ, unto another Gospel. And so likewise to the Corinthians, he says, *that they were Carnal, who thought they knew something, when indeed they knew nothing as they ought to know it.* But these Objectors (replies Tertullian) wou'd do well to remember, that there were other Churches, for whose Faith, Knowledge and Goodness, St. Paul rejoices and giveth Thanks to God; and that these celebrated Churches are now in strict Communion with those reprov'd by the Apostle. But ¹ let it be, that they have all err'd, that the Apostle was mistaken in the Character he gave of 'em, that the Holy Spirit took no care to lead any of 'em into the way of Truth, but suffer'd all the Churches

* Cap. 27.

¹ Cap. 28.

to misunderstand the Apostles, and to believe otherwise than the Apostles taught: But pray now, tell me then, how so many famous Churches came all to stumble upon one and the same Faith? For such a prodigious Number of Men cou'd never come by chance to hit exactly upon the same thing; and one Error of Faith in the Churches wou'd soon have branch'd out into many others. And therefore one and the same Doctrine in so many Churches can never be look'd upon as a lucky hit only of Error, but must be the Effect of Tradition; let them therefore speak out and say, that they were in an Error who first deliver'd the Doctrine. However ⁿ it be, an Error it seems there was, and all the time this Error reign'd, not a *Heretick* to be hear'd of; no *Marcionite* or *Valentinian* to be found, to set the captive Truth at Liberty, and mistaken Travellers in the right way to Heaven: But all this while the Gospel was preach'd amiss; Men believ'd amiss; so many Thousands of Thousands were baptiz'd amiss; so many Works of Faith administer'd amiss; so many Miracles, Gifts and Graces were wrought and conferr'd amiss; so many *Sacerdotal* and *Ministerial* Functions perform'd amiss; so many crown'd with Martyrdom, and all in the Wrong! And I wou'd willingly be inform'd likewise, how the Affairs of God all this time came to go on so miraculously successful, before Men knew who was the God they were to serve; and how there came to be such a vast Increase of *Christians* before the right *Christ* was discover'd; and how Heresy came to get the Start of the true Doctrine, for in other things Truth is always before Imitation, and the Substance before the Shadow.

But ⁿ if any of these *Hereticks* have the Confidence to put in their Claim to *Apostolick Antiquity*, because they were in Being in the Time of the *Apostles*, let 'em (say we) shew the Origin of their

ⁿ Cap. 29.ⁿ Cap. 32.

Churches;

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Churches ; let 'em give us a Catalogue of their *Bishops* successively deriv'd down from the first Foundation of Churches ; and prove that their first *Bishop* was either consecrated by an *Apostle* or an *Apostolick* Man who constantly adher'd to the *Apostles*, or that he had such a Predecessor in his See. For thus it is that the *Apostolick* Churches derive their Descent ; as the Church of *Smyrna* produceth her *Polycarp* placed there by St. *John* ; the Church of *Rome* her *Clemens* placed there by St. *Peter* ; and so all the rest of the Churches have their *Bishops* to shew, who were constituted *Bishops* by the *Apostles*, and who have handed down the *Apostolick Tradition* to this present Age. And let your *Hereticks* produce any thing like this, if they can ; and what may they not attempt to produce after so much Blasphemy ? But shou'd they pretend to any such thing, who will credit 'em ? For if you will be at the Pains to compare their Doctrine with that of the *Apostles*, you will find such a monstrous difference between 'em, that 'tis hardly possible to believe that such abominable Absurdities shou'd come either from an *Apostle* or an *Apostolick* Person. For as the *Apostles* wou'd not teach different Doctrines from one another, so neither wou'd the Men of those Times have taught any thing contrary to the *Apostles*, unless it were such only as went out from 'em because they were not of 'em. But now these *Hereticks* cannot make out their *Apostolicalness* in any sense, either from a Succession of *Bishops* or a conformity in Doctrine ; nor ate they admitted into Fellowship and Communion with any Churches that in any respect are *Apostolical*.

Thus then I have given in, the Judgment of *Tertullian* (and in him the Sense of all the *Catholick* Writers down to *Vincentius*) concerning the surest and safest way of interpreting the Canon of Scripture, as to Matters of Faith especially ; which is the main Subject of the following Book. And if I mistake not

not, there is a great deal of good Sense in what this old Priest has deliver'd, and nothing more is needful to be added upon this Head, but only to put his Arguments together and so leave 'em to the consideration of the Reader. The Proposition asserted is, *That the Interpretation of the Scriptures was committed to those Men, to whose Trust the Scriptures themselves were committed.* For the Proof of this we are told, that the Apostles who had the *Gift of discerning Spirits*, and consequently of choosing the most faithful Persons to be *Fellow-Labourers* with 'em in the Gospel, went out and planted Churches in every City: These *Fellow-Labourers* or *Domesticks*, whom they set over their *new Plantations*, they particularly instructed by Word of Mouth upon every occasion, as Christ had instructed them; and by the *Laying on of Hands*, conferr'd the same miraculous Abilities on them as they themselves had receiv'd according to Promise: And for a farther security yet, there was a *Creed call'd by St. Paul, The Form of sound Words*, a Standard of Faith by which all Doctrines were to be try'd, drawn up by the Apostles or their Companions, and fix'd in these *Apostolick Churches*; and this *depositum* was committed to the Custody of the Bishop, who no doubt was particularly instructed in the full meaning of every Article: These *Apostolick Churches* maintain'd a strict Friendship, Communion and Correspondence with each other, which was a demonstration of their Unity in Doctrine and Government. From these *Mother-Churches* were many others propagated, and these too copied exactly after their Original, and therefore were look'd upon as *Apostolick*; and if any Dispute arose concerning the genuiness of a Text, or the Interpretation of it, recourse was immediately had to the *Mother-Church*, and so the Dispute was ended. Now if the Apostles can be suppos'd not to have taken the utmost Care about the security of the Faith in those Churches they planted, and which

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were to be a Pattern to the rest; if those *Domefticks* who convers'd with the Apostles and were instructed from their Mouths, and miraculously assisted by the Holy Ghost, and who laid down their Lives for the Faith, may be suppos'd deficient either in point of Ability or Integrity: Nay, if their immediate Successors, who had the Benefit of their Writings in their original Purity, and were not without the extraordinary Gifts and Graces of the Holy Spirit, and who liv'd and dy'd in Catholick Communion; if these, I say, may be suppos'd to have no advantages for understanding the Sense of Scripture above a *modern Interpreter*, then I think we may suppose any thing: We may suppose *Le Clerc* equal to an *Apostle*, we may burn all the *Primitive Writings*, and take up with his *new Bible*; for if that *Dutch Commentator* is in the Right, all the *Catholick Writers* in the first Ages were in the Wrong, and the *Bible* was never understood by any before he wrote his *Comments* on it. I conclude therefore with *Vincentius*, that the most *ancient Fathers* were incomparably the best qualify'd for the Interpretation of Scripture, which was the thing to be prov'd. But though this be the main thing our *Author* builds on, yet be there other co-incident Propositions necessary to be clear'd and settled in a sceptical Age, that is for pulling down every Thing and setting up Nothing: And I think they may be all reduc'd under these Three Heads: First, *That Heresies must be*. Secondly, *That their being is no Objection against the Goodness of any Church, or the Truth of the Christian Faith*. Thirdly, *That Matters of Faith are as necessary to Salvation as Matters of Practice*.

To make way for the Proof of these things, we must observe, that *Heresy* was a word us'd at first indifferently, to denote any sort or *Sect* of Men distinguish'd from others by some peculiar Doctrines or Practices, either true or false, good or bad; but when a *Form of Doctrine* was deliver'd which all Men were oblig'd

oblig'd to believe under pain of Damnation, and all Believers under the like Penalty oblig'd to be of one and the same Communion; then both *Heresy* and *Schism* began to be us'd in a limited and worser Sense: *Heresy* was restrain'd to signify an Error about the Faith, and *Schism* to denote a Breach of Order and Christian Communion. When therefore 'tis said that *there must be Heresies*, we are not to imagin an absolute Necessity of God's making, that they must *unavoidably* be; for then we cou'd no more be blam'd for being *Hereticks* than for not being *Angels*, since *it is God that has made us* such, *and not we our selves*; but the meaning is, that seeing God will not interpose his Almighty Power, but leave Mankind to their Liberty in order to judge 'em according to their Works, *Heresies most certainly wou'd be*. And the Reason of this will evidently appear, if we do but consider, either the Nature of the Gospel or the Tempers of Men.

For, first, Christianity was an Institution whereby Men covenanted to renounce the Devil and all his Works, and all their old Train of Deities, with all the amusing Pageantry of numberless Rites, for the Worship of one God only, and with very few Ceremonies; for which the *first Christians* were called *Atheists*: They were to Promise and Vow likewise a perpetual Divorce from the Pomp and Vanities of the World, which they had been so long wedded to, and to wage War against their darling Lusts and Passions, that is, against themselves; and to enter upon a strict course of unfashionable Virtues, of strange Humility and Self denial, of Suffering for Righteousness sake, of Loving their Enemities and Blessing their Persecutors, &c. against the Practice of which, Mode and Custom, and all the Bosom Orators of Flesh and Blood had much to say: No wonder then that such an ungrateful Institution not only met with much opposition, but that many who profess'd it soon fell a tampering and contriving how to make such a

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pinching Religion fit easy upon their Inclinations, from whence *there must be Heresies*; and were in Fact we find in the very beginning of Christianity, when the *Gnosticks* were for cutting it to their own liking.

This will be plainer yet, if we do but consider the Nature of the Evidence or the Manner wherein this Doctrine is deliver'd. That the *Scriptures* are the Word of God, that those we now have are Genuine, are Truths unquestionably evident to every wise and well-disposed Person; but the Proof we have for the Truth of these things is not so violently strong and demonstrative as to bear down all Opposition; as we find from the many *Unbelievers* and *Scepticks* that have been and are in the World. So neither is the *Sense of Scripture* so irresistibly clear and piercing, that perverse Men cannot possibly raise any Disputes and Clouds about it. With great Judgment therefore says *Tertullian*, *I make no scruple to affirm, that the very Scriptures themselves are so dispos'd by the Will of God as to afford subject Matter for Hereticks to work upon, when I read, that Heresies must be, which cannot be without the Scriptures.* When the Disciples came to Christ and ask'd him, why he spoke to those about him in Parables, he answer'd, *Because to you it is given to know the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, but to them it is not given; therefore speak I to them in Parables, because they seeing see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand*, Matth. 13. v. 10, 11, 13. that is, to you who are willing to learn, who are honest well-meaning Persons, I think fit to discourse of the *Mysteries of the Kingdom* plainly and without reserve; and the Reason I speak to others in a *parabolical obscurer*

^o *Nec periclitior dicere ipsas quoque Scripturas sic esse ex Dei voluntate dispositas, ut Hereticis materias subministrarent, cum legam, Oportere Heresies esse, qua sine Scripturis esse non possunt.* Præscript. cap. 39.

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way, is, because they are not dispos'd for Truth, nor come with a design of being the better for my Instructions. And when the Rulers and the People came flocking about him, to hear his Wisdom and see his Works, and to ask him who he was, he gives 'em, we find, no direct answer, but sends 'em to *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and to his Doctrine and his Miracles, from whence they might easily collect who he was, if they had a mind; and if not, he knew they wou'd not believe, let him say what he wou'd; *For if any Man will do his Will he shall know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of my self.* God has given us Eyes, but if we will not see, he will not work a Miracle for the Cure of affected Blindness: *If the Gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the God of this World hath blinded the Minds of them which believe not, lest the Light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the Image of God, shou'd shine unto them.*

It is reported by some of the *Ancients*^h that St. John, at the desire of the *Asiatick Bishops*, compos'd his *Gospel* in Vindication of our Saviour's Divinity, against *Cerinthus* and the *Ebionites*, who affirm'd Christ to be a mere *Man* only. The Apostle therefore upon the entrance of his *Gospel* thus declares: *In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. And the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us, &c.* As distinct and clear as this Scripture is for the Divine and Human Nature in Christ, *Hereticks* there were who cou'd make a shift to elude it. For some said, that the *Word was not God*; and others again said, that the *Word was not made Flesh*, but was *Flesh in appearance only*. I will not mention the monstrous

^h Hieron. Verbo Johani. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 24. lib. 6. cap. 14.

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Pains the *Socinians* have been at to Un-god our Sa-
viour in spight of his beloved Apostle, but I cannot
quite pass over the good endeavours of *Le Clerc* to
second the same Doctrine with another evasion: For
according to him thus we are to understand St. John,
In the Beginning was Reason, and Reason was in God;
A marvellous discovery! *And Reason was God;* that
is, the Man Christ was God by Office, as an Ambassa-
dor is King: *And Reason was made Flesh;* that is,
Reason was made conspicuous in the Man in whom it
was. One wou'd think likewise that St. Paul had
express'd himself very intelligibly upon the same Ar-
ticle, when speaking of the *Jews*, he said: *Of whom,*
according to the Flesh, Christ came, who is over all,
God blessed for ever, Amen. But here again by the
Hocus Pocus of a Colon after $\chi\tau\eta\alpha$, according to
the Flesh, never to be met with in any Version, against
the general Sense of the Fathers, and against the na-
tural Construction of the Words in the very Opinion
of *Socinus*, is *Le Clerc* (a never failing Man at Inno-
vation) for making one with them who wou'd read
and understand the Text thus: *Of whom, according*
to the Flesh, Christ came; and then with a grateful
Exclamation; *God! who is over all, be blessed for*
ever, Amen. Though since I find he has been pleas'd
to declare that Dr. Mill has well prov'd, that *Christ*
is stiled *God over all blessed for ever.* But who so
blind as they who will not see? And what strange
work do some *Criticks* make with the plainest Scrip-
ture by the arbitrary Use of *Colons!* Once more; it
is said, *Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven*
Image, or any likeness of any thing that is in the Heaven
above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in
the Water under the Earth; thou shalt not bow down
thy self to them, nor serve them. A Person who
had no designs in his Head but to serve God, must
needs think that this Precept, with the gradual enu-
meration of all Things from *Heaven above to the*
Waters under the Earth, was as particular and ex-
press

press as words cou'd well be, against all sorts of Image-worship; but yet because it is not said, *Thou shalt not worship God through an Image, or thy Worship shall not terminate in the Image,* or some such explanatory Clause and Restriction, *bowing down to Images and serving them,* is as much in Practice with some Men, as if there had been no such thing as the Second Commandment.

God, no doubt, if he had pleas'd, cou'd have express'd his Will so clearly and fenc'd about his Laws with such Proviso's, Explications and Limitations, as shou'd have made it much more difficult, nay, impossible for any one to misunderstand or evade them; and so he cou'd have made Man impeccable, or redeem'd him from the Possibility as well as the Penalty of Sin; but where then had been the Proof of Ingenuity and Faithfulness, *that they which are approved may be made manifest?* Besides, for the same Reason that one Precept is to be infallibly secur'd, so is another and another, and so on; and so there must have been Millions and Millions of Explications and Cautions; every Rule must have been hedg'd about with as many Securities as there are Possibilities to mistake or pervert it; every Proposition settled, every Obje&tion possible answer'd, every Word fully explain'd, every Comma and Colon immoveable; and what not, to guard against all the ways of Error? And what a strange Book for Size and Sense must the Bible have been then? And Error being infinite, it might have been said perhaps without a Figure, *that even the World it self wou'd not contain the Books which shou'd be written.* From the nature then of the Doctrine which goes so much against the Grain of Flesh and Blood, from the manner of the Evidence also wherein those grating Truths are deliver'd, which requires not only common Sense and Reason, but a peculiar Probity and Teachableness of Spirit to understand them: From both these, I say, it is certain that without a Miracle *there must be Heresies;* especially in the next place,

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place, if we consider the Corruptions of Mankind.

Where this unpallatable Religion wou'd go down but by halves, and cou'd not perfectly get the better of Mens unruly Lusts and Passions, there the Men wou'd be sure to do their best to get the better of Religion, and to bend or break it to their Inclinations. The Man of Politicks will make it a Tool, and where it stands in his way it shall be no Religion for him. The Man of Pleasure will have no more Christianity than comports with his Enjoyments; and the Godliness that is not Gain shall be no Godliness for the Man of Interest. The Man of Faction will fetch *Chains and Links of Iron* from Scripture to bind Kings and Nobles withal. The free thinker will be confin'd to no Creed but one of his own making, and with but one Article, and that too a very ambiguous one; his clear Idea's must be the length of his Faith, and where he cannot see he will not believe. The vain Philosopher will comply with the sacred Text no farther than he can make that comply with his beloved *Hypothesis*; and the conceited Critick must have his Colons and Colourings in defiance of the old Reading and the Sense of all *Antiquity*. Where will the itch of Novelty and a profane Curiosity rest contented? Or what Scripture will be clear enough, or what Conviction sufficient for Pride, Prejudice and Party? Ambition and Avarice will set up for *Infallibility* upon Gospel-Authority, and usurp the Keys of Heaven, and open and shut at Pleasure; and the Lazy and Voluptuous will not be at the Pains to examine how the *UJurpers* came by them, because they can be let in upon easy Terms. So that to ask why there shou'd be *Heresies*, is in effect to ask why there shou'd be such things as Pride and Stubborness, Vanity and Wantonness, Envy and Malice, Ambition and Covetousness, Luxury and Laziness, or any other Corruption in Human Nature: For till corrupted Nature is perfectly cur'd, there will be breakings out into wicked Opinions as well

well as wicked Practices; and Diseases of Mind are no more to be wonder'd at than Diseases of the Body. God in his Wisdom has not thought fit to tye up Mankind by Miracle, and force 'em to be Good; and for the same Reason he does not force 'em to be Orthodox; and therefore *Heresies must be*. Which brings me to the second General, That the being of *Heresies* are no Objection against the Goodness of any Church, or the Truth of the Christian Faith.

There is no one Objection oftner in the Mouth of *Papists*, and with less Reason, than the *Schisms* and *Heresies* among *Protestants*: For if they have had Monsters of this kind in great Plenty at *Rome*; if such *Spiritual Wickednesses* have been in their *High Places*, and *Arians* late even in St. Peter's Chair; if there has been Altar against Altar, and *Pope* against *Pope*, as most certainly there have been, why such an Out-cry from that Quarter against the *Divisions* in *England*? unless it be to amuse the People, that the *Church of Rome* is all Love, Unity and Concord. But that the People may not be thus amus'd, I desire 'em to look again before they believe, into a short but full Treatise ⁹ compos'd on purpos'e to arm the Ignorant against this popular Delusion; whereby the weakest *Protestant* may soon be enabl'd to cut off the many headed Monster with his own Sword. But that Recrimination may not be thought our only Argument, I say, First, That for the same Reason that *Papists* argue against *Protestants* from this To-pick, any one may likewise against the *Church of God* in Heaven from the Fall of Angels: Against the *Church of God* on Earth among the *Jews*, from the *Schisms* of *Corah* and *Jeroboam*, and from the *Heresy* of the *Sadducees* and other *Sects* among them. At this rate likewise one might argue against Christ and his Apostles, from the *Apostacy* of *Judas*: A-

⁹ An Apologetical Vindication of the Church of *England*;
by George Hickes, D. D.

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gainst the Church of Corinth, from the Schisms and Divisions in it; and in a word, against every Church planted by the Apostles. For notwithstanding those Twelve, known, infallible and faithful judges of Controversy, there were as many and as damnable Heresies crept in even in the Apostolick Age, as in any after Age perhaps during the same space of Time; so little will Infallibility serve the Turn it is set up for. For, as I have already shewn, there will never be an end of Schism and Heresy, till we are all both Infallible and Impeccable, till we cannot possibly be deceiv'd or deceive. And is not this now a very fine Argument against the Goodness of the Church of England, that will hold good against every particular Church both in Heaven and Earth? And if it be an essential Mark of the Truth and Goodness of a Church to lose none of those that were baptiz'd into it, then there never was a true or good Church; and those who have gone off from Rome, are as unanswerable an Objection against the Papists as our Separatists are against us.

But then, Secondly, I say farther, that bare Unity or Agreement is no certain Mark of the Truth or Goodness of a Church, but the Things united in; because this is the common Mark of all Parties: And if this be an Argument of Truth and Goodness, then so far as they agree among themselves, so far they must be all in the right, though never so contrary to each other. The murderers of our Lord, who cry'd out with great unanimity, crucify him, crucify him, must for this Reason be in the Right; the more than Forty who bound themselves under a Curse to kill Paul, must be in the Right; the more than Forty times Forty who murder'd King Charles I. who talk'd of nothing more than Union and Communion, they too must have been in the Right; nay, the Kingdom of Darkness must be in the Right, for that also we are told is at Unity in it self; For if Satan be divided against himself, how shall then

then his Kingdom stand? But this is so silly an Argument that I shall persue it no farther; for I think we are in no want of Examples at present to prove, that Men may be united in Error as well as Truth. This Popish Objection against the Truth and Goodness of Protestant Churches from the *Schisms* and *Heresies* amongst 'em, is taken up by *Atheists*, *Deists* and *Scepticks*, against the Truth of all Religion in general: But with what Reason, I leave the impartial Reader to judge from these few following Considerations.

1. That Disputes and Differences about the Nature and Modes of a Thing, are no Argument against the Truth and Being of the Thing disputed about. For is it reasonable to argue after this manner? There has been much Dispute about *squaring the Circle*, therefore there is no *Circle* at all. There has been much dispute about the *Motion of the Earth*, therefore there is no *Earth*. There has been much Dispute about the *divisibility of Matter*, therefore there is no *Matter* at all. Men dispute about the *Title*s to an *Estate*, or the *Measure* of their *Land*, therefore there is no *Title*, nor *Estate*, nor *Measure*, nor *Land*. Travellers dispute about the *right Way*, therefore there is no *Way*. Lawyers dispute about the *Sense* of a *Law*, therefore there is no *Law*. Divines dispute about the *Sense* of the *Gospel*, therefore there is no *Gospel* at all. On the contrary, I think with much better Reason we ought to conclude, that there is some object of such Disputes, or such Disputes wou'd never have been. There have been from Time to Time a world of *Martyrs* and *Confessors*, a world of Books, Discourses and Conferences about the *Truth of Religion*, therefore there is such a thing as *True Religion*; because Men who are in their Wits don't use to suffer, and die, and dispute eternally about nothing.

2. At this rate all Truths must depend upon the Will of Man; for if some *Scepticks* are pleas'd to be in the Humour to dispute, whether there was such a Man as *Julius Caesar*, or such a Person as *Jesus of Nazareth*,

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Nazareth, or whether Three and Three are equal to Six: If such Disputes can alter the Nature of Things, then these Truths, when disputed, are to be no longer Truths. But Truths are not of that limber and flexible Nature as to be disputed away at our Pleasure; Things will be what they are in spight of all our little Reasonings about 'em: And though a Stoick in good Health may make bold to argue against the reality of Pain, yet in his Sickness he will find Pain to be what it is, and to be too hard for all his Philosophy.

3dly. These very Disputes and Differences were foretold by Christ and his Apostles for the verification of his Religion, and therefore certainly ought to be no Objection against it. Men may be too far gone for Argument as well as Phyfick. *Pharaoh* was past the Power of Miracle; and the Reasons which soften some, harden others: For though Christ declar'd before-hand, that *it must needs be that Offences come*; and though these *Offences came* as he had declar'd, yet the very fulfilling of this Prophecy was turn'd by some to the disgrace of Christianity, and had no other Effect upon the Apostate *Julian* than to make him say, *That the Galilæan had now verify'd his own saying, That he came not to send Peace on Earth, but the Sword.* And for the same witty Reason other *Libertines* have advanc'd a Step beyond *Julian*, and declar'd it the wisest way to throw off all Religion, till all Parties are agreed about it. But wicked Spirits will suck Poison from an Antidote, and turn the best Proof for the Truth of Christianity as an Objection against it. The worser sort of *Heathens* argu'd against the Faith from the many Disputes and Differences about it, and from the strange Calamities and Sufferings of its Professors; whereas the good *Primitive Christians* were the more confirm'd in the Faith by these Objections. In the most provoking Distresses they *rejoyc'd*, and were exceeding glad when they *suffer'd for Righteousness sake*, well knowing

knowing that their Master had sufficiently told 'em of these things before they came to pass, that when they did come to pass, they might believe. So likewise they were griev'd at Heresies in Compassion to Hereticks, but they were not offended, they were not cast down and struck into diffidence and helpless Wonder that such Diseases shou'd be, but like wise and faithful Physicians, apply'd with all their Might to cure and prevent 'em; well knowing from Christ's Prediction, and from the Corruptions of Mankind, that *Heresies must be*, and that they were permitted for wise and good Ends; that they which are approved may be made manifest. Which is the next thing to be consider'd.

Though *Schisms* and *Heresies* are very great Evils both in themselves and in their Consequences; though they give Scandal to the Weak, Diversion to the Witty, and Argument to the Atheist; though they are the Parents of every evil Work, of Envyings, Wraths, Strifes, Backbitings, Whisperings, Swellings, Tumults, Rebellions, Murders; though they breed the worst Blood imaginable in the Body Politick, and introduce Craft and Cruelty, and *metamorphose* Christians into *Foxes* and *Wolves*, and set 'em at the greatest distance from Truth and good Manners, and in a word, make a mere *Babel* of the *Church of God*: Though these are the sure and certain, the known and experienc'd Effects of *Schism* and *Heresy*; yet God, I say, (who brings Good out of Evil) for just and holy Reasons permits such Evils to be, and by his All-wise Providence more than ballances the Evil with the Good. For after all, what do such Contentions and Clashings about Religion do more than strike out Light to let us see *who is who?* To let us see the Man of Conscience from the *Mammonite*, the Meek and Humble from the Proud and Passionate, the Sincere from the Hypocrite, &c. which without such differences wou'd not appear. For did Men profess all the same Faith, and agree all

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in the same Way of Worship, Discipline and Government, they wou'd appear all alike; and therefore such Oppositions do little more than turn up the Mire and Bottom of Mens Minds, and bring forth the Blade of that Seed which before lay cover'd in the Ground of the Heart. For instance, When the *Arian Heresy* reviv'd and had brought over King and Court to nurse it, and pleaded not only *Toleration*, but *Establishment* and *Universality*; and the Storm blew high and beat vehemently upon the Church of God, upon the Professors of the True Faith; then the *Wolves* strip'd off their *Sheeps* clothing and devour'd in their own Shape; then the Men of this World appear'd without Disguise, and as the *Author of Ecclesiasticus* faith, *with Hands stretch'd out to receive and not to pay*; then the Hypocrites pull'd off their Mask, and plainly shew'd, that Ease, Safety and Interest was their Religion; then the Moderate, the Lukewarm, the Indifferent, and such as were never well on, fell off from the Church like Leaves in Winter; then were different Parties, different Hereticks united, and the *Pilates* and *Herods* made Friends together for a while, by setting at naught and mocking the Divinity of Christ: Then New Forms of Faith, and softning Creeds were drawn up every Day, then Pride and Vanity, Avarice and Ambition, Levity and Weakness, Revenge and Cruelty, Malice and Treachery, came all from behind the Curtain and shew'd themselves openly to the World; and were a very instructing Scene, and for that end permitted by Providence, to such as were dispos'd to grow wiser by Example. Especially on the other hand, if we consider, that as a Counter-ballance to these Evils, the same *Heresy* brought forth a noble Army of *Martyrs* and *Confessors* upon the Stage: For then the Power of *Godliness* appear'd distinctly from the *Form*; then a knowing Zeal and a well grounded Integrity were seen to the Bottom; then Probity and Sincerity, Courage and Constancy,

Resignation and Meekness, Fortitude and Patience, and every Christian Virtue shone in Perfection; then every true Lover of Jesus Christ stood as it were upon the house-top in the Eye of the World, and *Athanasius appear'd in Glory*. This dangerous Heresie rouz'd the Orthodox, and put 'em upon double Duty; Opposition whetted their Industry, and set an Edge upon their Wit, and put all their Hands and Heads upon the Stretch to countermine the Enemy: This made 'em more diligent in inquiring into the *ancient Rules of Faith*, and the Traditions of *Apostolick Churches*. This made 'em more curious in comparing the several Copies of the sacred Text, to find out the Mutilations, Maimings, Interpolations, and the false Colons of *Hereticks*. This made 'em study the holy Scriptures over and over again with more Application and Accuracy, and express themselves with more Caution and Exactness. From whence Posterity receiv'd many considerable Advantages. The *Canon of Scripture* was better prov'd, and the *Copies* more correct and pure; many dark Passages brought to light, and better explain'd; many necessary Points settled, many admirable Books written, and in a word, the true Doctrine establish'd upon better and surer Grounds, than in all Probability it would have been, had there been no such thing as *Heresie* to make good Men bestir themselves to the utmost for the security of the Faith.

To the same purpose St. Austin tells us, *That*

¹ *Multa latebant in Scripturis, & cum præcisi essent Hæretici, quætionibus agitaverunt Ecclesiam Dei; Aperta sunt quæ latebant; & intellecta est voluntas Dei. — Numquid enim perfectè de Trinitate tractatum est, antequam oblatrarent Ariani? Numquid perfectè de Penitentiâ tractatum est, antequam obsisterent Novatiani? sic non perfectè de Baptismate tractatum est, antequam contradicerent foris positi Re-baptizatores. Nec de ipsâ unitate Christi enucleatæ dicta erant quæ dicta sunt, nisi postea quam separatio illa urgere cœpit Fratres infirmos. Ut jam illi qui noverant hæc tractare atq; dissolvere ne perirent infirmi solicitati quætionibus impiorum, Sermonibus & Disputationibus suis obscura legis in publicum dederent. Vid. August. in Psal. 54. & in illa verba, (et appropinquavit cor illius) item lib. 16. de Cœitate Dei, cap. 2.*

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many things in the Scriptures lay hid, and when excommunicated Hereticks were continually embroiling the Church of God with Questions, then these Obscurities were brought to light, and the Will of God understood. For had we any complete Treatise of the Trinity, before the Arians open'd their Mouths against it? Had we any perfect Tract about Repentance, till the Novatians oppos'd it? Had we any set discourse about Baptism till Heretical Rebaptizers contradicted the Practice of the Church? So neither had we any thing thoroughly, and to the bottom examin'd and stated concerning the very Unity of the two Natures in the Person of Christ, as now we have, till the separation thereupon began to endanger the weak Brethren. When those who had Ability and Skill in untying such Knots, did by their Discourses and Disputations bring these hidden things of the Law to light for the Preservation of the Infirm, who were pester'd with such Questions by ungodly Men. If then the Allwise Providence can make all things work together for good, to them that love God; if he can fetch Light out of Darkness, and make even Schisms and Heresies in many respects beneficial; if he permits 'em to be for the greater Advancement in divine Truths, for a more diligent Application of our Studies to the Word of God, for the Trial and Manifestation of the Faithful in this World, and for greater Degrees of Glory in the next, and for many other excellent Ends; then I hope it sufficiently appears, That the Being of Heresies are no Objection against the Goodness of any Church, or the Truth of the Christian Faith; which was the second General to be made out; and so I come to the Third and last, That Matters of Faith are as necessary to Salvation as Matters of Practice.

There are in the World not a Few who stand very much upon their Veracity, their Honour, and the Morality of their Lives; who profess to believe a God, and are not against Following the Light of Nature; but for believing reveal'd Religion, they say with the great

great Syrian, the Lord pardon, by Servant in this thing. But if you look into the bottom of this Presence, and enquire how it comes to pass that they profess to believe in God, and yet refuse to believe in Christ, you will find the main Reason to be this, that they can be *Deists* at a much easier rate than *Christians*; that their Notion of a God is of a more flexible and complying Nature; that Truth, and Justice, and Holiness, are no essential Attributes of their God, and therefore that by his Nature he is not oblig'd to punish the Breach of his Laws, much less in so severe a manner as is declar'd in the Gospel. To such a Notion of a Deity, to an Idol of their own making that cramps 'em not in their Enjoyments, and will not call 'em to an account for their Actions, they can bow down and worship, that is, according to their Prophet Epicurus, pay a decent Respect to one that is so much above them. And as for the Light of Nature, they can make that what they please, and so live how they please; for what is Nature (say they) but Inclination and Custom? And what have not Men Inclination or Custom for? They have Inclination and Custom for all sorts of Vices; they have Custom for all sorts of Religions, and for no Religion at all; and so from the Light of Nature can arise no Obligation at all. Whereas the Laws of the Gospel are too severe and holy for them, the Precepts too express and positive to be eluded, and the Threatnings bare and terribly glittering, like a Sword drawn from the Scabbard, and pointed directly at our Hearts, and therefore we must turn away our Head, or comply with its Rules, or we cannot be easie. Men love Darkness, because their Deeds are evil, and they hate the Light because it shews them; and therefore the Light of the Gospel is as troublesome to a wicked Man, as the Light of the Sun shining full upon the Face of a Person who has a mind to sleep, he draws the Curtain to be at rest.

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Some others there are who wou'd fain pass for mighty *Orthodox*, and for the only sincere *Lovers of Truth*, and who are wonderfully florid in their *Encomiums* upon *Christian Morality*, but yet don't care for a *Form of sound Words*; they look upon so many establish'd *Articles of Faith*, as so many Impositions upon the Liberty of *Free Thinkers*, and are by no means willing to bring their Understandings into Captivity, and for believing out of sight. But if a *Creedholder* might take the Liberty of talking freely with these *Freemen of Reason*, I would tell them, that a *Form of sound Words*, or *Creed* there certainly was, drawn up either by the Apostles themselves, or some of their Companions, and deposited in the *Apostolick Churches*, as the Measure or Standard of *Faith*; and that the most *Primitive Christians* who preach'd up the Necessity of living according to the *Gospel-Ethicks*, and who dy'd too such Deaths as their *Latitudinarian Enemies* think it not a Duty to do, these very *Martyrs and Confessors*, I say, one and all, concluded themselves as much oblig'd to believe according to the *Rule of Faith*, which was their *Creed*, and to conform to it in their Interpretations of the *Gospel*, as to live soberly, righteously and godly; and that *Hereticks*, who either adulterated the *Faith*, or stole from, and diminish'd it, were in as damnable a Condition, as those who liv'd in a constant Breach of the Seventh and Eighth Commandments. For Instance, *Ignatius*, the faithful Disciple of the beloved and loving Apostle St. *John*, with all his Charity and Meekness could find no better Names for *Hereticks*, than ¹ *Beasts in human Shape*. Again, ² *If then such as have thus defiled themselves according*

¹ Περφυλάσσω δὲ μᾶς οὐδὲ τὴν Ἰητίαν τὸν αὐθεωπομόρφων. Epist. ad Smyrn.

² Εἰ δὲ, οἱ καὶ σδέκα ταῦτα περιώντες, ἀπέθανον; τόσου μᾶλλον δὲν τίσιν θεῖ ἐν κακῇ διδασκαλίᾳ φθίην, τόσης Ιησῆς χειρὸς ἰσαναράθη; οὐ τοιετῷ ρυπαρεῖς γνόμῳ οὐδὲ πεπονθεῖς τὸν αὐτοῖς χωρίσθι, ὅμοιας καὶ αὐτῶν αὐτῷ. Epist. ad Ephes.

to the Flesh, have suffer'd Death; how much more shall he suffer, who by his wicked Doctrine hath defiled the Faith of God for which Jesus Christ was Crucify'd; such a polluted Wretch shall depart into Fire unquenchable, both he and his bearer. Once more, "My Brethren, be not deceiv'd, if any one goes after a schismatical Teacher, he shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. But we will pass over Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus, who is particularly large upon this Head, and come to Tertullian. And here not to mention his other Tracts against particular Hereticks, I shall take notice only of his *Prescription* against 'em all in general, wherein he has accounted for the Being of *Heresies*, their Nature, their Causes, and their Effects, with the Remedies against 'em, and a particular Description of the Way and Manner of such Tempters, who tho' they have not Cloven Feet, yet go about with the same Design as those that have, seeking whom they may devour. This *Prescription* I take to be the best Primitive Receipt we have against that Itch of Novelty, that Lust of Curiosity, as *Vincentius* calls it, which is the Bane of Christianity, against the specious Poison of such over inquisitive Spirits, such ungovernable Wits, as affect *Nostrum's* in Divinity, and will have something new, or nothing in Religion. " For my part (says he) I cannot but admire to find you thus surpriz'd that there shou'd be such Distempers of Mind among Christians as *Heresies*, and that they shou'd do such a world of Mischief; for are not Fevers permitted to be, and to kill in abundance? But instead of losing your selves in amazement at these Kinds of Evil, you strive all you can to prevent and cure 'em; whereas at the Sight of *Heresie*, which brings eternal Death, and the Burnings of a greater Fire, you stand still in helpless Wonder, when a little Consideration and Pains wou'd make you forbear won-

["] Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ἀδελφοί μα, εἴτε χίζοντις ἀκολυθῶν, βασιλέων
Θεῶν καὶ κληρονομῶν. Epist. ad Philadelph.

["] *Prescript.* Cap. I, 2.

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dring either at their Being, or their Effects, and secure you against them. For we have a *Rule of Faith* which teacheth us what we are to defend, and by that *Rule* we believe; and then he recites the *Creed* at length, and adds, ' This is the *Rule of Faith* laid down by Christ, about which there have been no Questions rais'd among us, but what have been rais'd by *Hereticks*; and the Opposition to this *Rule* is that which constitutes an *Heretick*. Now this *Rule* being kept entire and complete, you may seek and debate, and give your Curiosity its utmost Range. He goes on likewise, and says, A certain *Rule of Faith* is given; you have a Law; and Obedience to that Law will save you. Curiosity and an affected Ostentation of much Knowledge, is the Ground of all these vain Researches. But let Curiosity for once give way to Faith, and vain Glory to your eternal Salvation. Let us hear no more of these Clamours and Divisions, but learn at last to be quiet; to know nothing contrary to the *Establish'd Rule of Faith*, is to know all things. Once more, From ² whence come Heresies? From the Devil, and they differ not at all from Idolatry, and both come from the same Father of Lies; for either Hereticks feign another God in opposition to the Creator, or if they confess one Creator, they don't allow him those Perfections which are truly his; and therefore every Lye they tell of God is a sort of Idolatry. And in the Conclusion, he charges them as they tender their Salvation to preserve the Faith in the bond of Peace; ³ for these are Things which no Body will forsake who is mindful of a future Judgement, when we must all stand before the Tribunal of Christ to give an Account of our Faith in the first Place.

Towards the latter end of the fourth Century *Epiphanius* in three Books gave us the Anatomy of Fourscore *Heresies*; he laid open the Diseases for a Preserva-

² Cap. 13.

³ Cap. 14.

² Cap. 40.

³ Cap. 44.

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tive against 'em. St. Austin has given us an Abstract of the same with an Addition of some more *Heresies* in his own Time, in a Discourse *ad Quod-vult-Deum*. *Vincentius* makes no Scruple to affirm that *Donatus* and his *Schismatical Followers* had their Portion with the Apostle Angels; he has chalk'd out the way all the true Believers of old went in; he has pointed to the Rocks, the Temptations, and Occasions of many great Mens splitting upon them; and charges us not to make Shipwreck of Faith and Communion, as we value our everlasting Happiness. The Design of the Ecclesiastical Writers, and all the *ancient Councils*, was for the security of the *Depositum*, the Faith once deliver'd; nor did it ever enter into the Head of any Primitive Catholick, that Toleration or Establishment alter'd the Nature of *Heresie* and *Schism*, any more than that of *Paganism*. From all which it appears unquestionably evident, that according to the Sence of the Primitive Church, a Right Faith was as necessary to Salvation as a Right Practice.

It appears as evident likewise from express Scripture; *Ye believe in God, believe also in me. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. There is none other Name under Heaven given among Men, whereby we must be saved, but that of Christ. He that hath the Son, hath Life, and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not Life. Examine your selves, whether ye be in the Faith. There is one Body and one Spirit, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. Till we all come into the Unity of the Faith, and of the Knowledge of the Son of God, That we henceforth be no more Children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine, by the Slight of Men, and cunning Craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive. Holding Faith, and a good Conscience, which some having put away, concerning Faith have made Shipwreck; of whom is Hymeneus and Alexander; whom I have deliver'd*

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liver'd unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.
Hoping Damnation because they cast off their first
Faith. Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto
you of the common Salvation; it was needful for me to write unto, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the Faith which was once deliver'd unto the Saints. For there are certain Men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordain'd to this condemnation, ungodly Men, turning the Grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ. These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit. But ye beloved, building up your selves on your most holy Faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep your selves in the love of God, &c.

From the Authority of Scripture as understood by the Fathers, let us go a little to the Reason of the thing; and if we consider the Nature of the Christian Covenant, we find that a publick Profession of Faith, in the Father, Son, and *Holy Ghost*, is the Condition without which we cannot be Christians; and therefore unless we can be sav'd by Christ without being Christians, such a Faith is necessary in the first Place, and then a good Life must follow. Nay, if a Heathen Man and a Sinner was baptiz'd in this Faith, and dy'd before he had time to perform the other Part of the Covenant concerning a good Life, he was *justified by Faith, without Works*. From whence I think 'tis very evident, that we are first to shew our Faith, and then our Works, before we can claim any Title to the Promises of the Gospel. And consequently, 'tis the highest Arrogance and Presumption in some *Moralists* to stand so much upon the Goodness of their Lives, and at the same time make a Jest of Orthodoxy; for were they ten times better Men than they are, their Morality makes 'em not Christians, and they have perform'd but one half of their Covenant; for as *Faith without Works is dead,*

so on the other hand is it as true, *that Works without Faith are dead also.*

2dly. A good Life alone does not answer one of the great Designs of Christ's coming into the World. For he came not merely to plant among us a more perfect and sublime *Morality*, but for his own greater Glory, to set us right in our Notions of the *Divine Nature*, that we shou'd laud and magnify the ever blessed *Trinity of Persons* in the Unity of the Godhead, with that *Tri-une Glorification* here on *Earth*, as *Angels* do in *Heaven*, saying Day and Night, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty*; and for this end are we baptiz'd in the Name of these *Three Persons* and One God. Christ came into the World to demonstrate God's infinite Justice and hatred of *Sin*, that wou'd be propitiated with nothing less than the infinitely meritorious Sacrifice of his beloved and *only begotten Son*, and thereby to strike us with a proportionate Horror of *Sin*, and to comfort us again with the *fulness* of his *Satisfaction* and *Atonement*, and to make us *able to comprehend what is the Breadth, and Length, and Depth, and Height*; and to know the *Love of Christ which passeth Knowledge*, that we might be filled with all the *Fulness of God*. But this admirable Temperament, this whole stupendous Fabrick of divine Justice, Wisdom and Mercy, drops in a manner to the Ground, and dwindles comparatively into nothing, if we believe Christ to be a *mere Man* only: For where was that *love of Christ which passeth knowledge*? where was that *all-sufficient Satisfaction* for the Sins of the whole World, if Christ was but a *Creature*? For as a *Creature*, he was oblig'd to do all he possibly cou'd do for his *Creator*, and had all possible Helps and Encouragements for so doing. And who can expect to escape that neglects to inquire into this wonderful Project of divine Love, and the valuable Reasons of so great Salvation? Shall a bare *Moral Life*, or the

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Profession of one single Article, That *Jesus of Nazareth was a Person sent from God*, be sufficient to make amends for a wilful Ignorance in such a momentous Concern, much more answer for a studied contempt of this whole Chain of Mercies, for vilifying the *Blood of God*; for the Expence of so many Miracles, and for the Death of so many Martyrs for the same Doctrine, and all other Means of Instruction? Or what Man of Ingenuity and Gratitude wou'd not think himself under the highest Obligation to be at all the Pains imaginable to have a right Notion of these things, in order to be duly affected with them? Again, if we consider the *jealousy* God has always express'd for his incommunicable Honour, the Severity of his Laws against the least Shadow of Idol-worship; the Dispersions, Captivities, and other Judgments he sent upon his own People for their Idolatry; and the Care he took for the more effectual dispersing and signalizing his own Name abroad, and making the *God of Israel* by degrees to be the only Object of Divine Worship. If we consider this, I say, how can we imagine that in the last and perfect Revelation of his Will, this *jealous God* wou'd put all good Men under an insuperable Temptation of believing a Lie of such a sacrilegious abominable Nature, as that of worshipping a *Man for God*? But then if Christ be *God of God, of the same Substance with the Father, begotten from all Eternity, by whom all things were made*; if this Divine Person was *made Flesh* and crucify'd for our sakes, and for professing God to be his own proper *Natural Father*, as much as any Man is the Son of his Father according to the Flesh, with what Face can we imagine that our Redeemer will pass by such unjust, ungrateful Returns in his ransom'd Captives as the *ungodding* their Lord and Master? That he who *was in the Form of a Servant for our sakes, but thought it no Robbery to be equal with God*, will be content to be thrust down

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into the Rank of Creatures after such Manifestations of his Divinity and Philanthropy? And that a *Moral* Life and a formal Professing him to be the *Messiah*; that is, a *Prophet*, he who was to come, or a Person sent from God, shall be a sufficient Plea for such an unspeakable Affront to him, who is God blessed for ever, Amen? We are to believe likewise, that the Divine and Human Nature were so united as to make Christ but one Person; otherwise, as *Vincentius* faith, we introduce a quaternary of Persons into Divine Worship, which was the Reason that the *Ephesine Council*, and our *Author*, were so zealous and watchful about stating this Personal Union, and in condemning the *Heresy of Nestorius*. Of such consequence was an orthodox Faith, as well as a good Life, judg'd to be by the earliest and best Christians.

If it be urg'd by our *Moralists* or our one Article *Creed-makers*, that *Natural Laws* are of greater Obligation than *Positive* ones, because these have an intrinck Goodnes in themselves, whereas the other are good only because commanded; that the Notion of one God is knowable by the Light of Nature; that Justice also and Charity, and all the other Moral Virtues are necessary to the well-being of Mankind, but the Notion of *Three Persons* in the God-head is beyond the discovery and reach of Natural Reason, and a Notion the World may subsist very well without: To this I answer, First, That the distinction of Obligations between *Moral* and *Positive* Duties is to be understood with great Caution: For though the goodness of a Law be a great Motive and Inducement to Obedience, yet the formal Reason of Obligation does not arise from the Goodnes of a Law, but from the Authority and Will of the Legislator. God commands a thing which was before indifferent, therefore that thing is as much a Law as if it was never so good in its own Nature; he forbad

bad the eating of a Tree in the midst of the Garden, which without that Prohibition had been indifferent: But *Adam*, and in him all his Posterity, was condemn'd for the Breach of a Law purely *Positive*: God forbade the gathering of *Sticks on the Sabbath-day*, therefore the Man that gather'd 'em was put to Death for it. When God therefore says that *he will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, it is not to be understood as if God wou'd have any of his Laws broken; but as our Saviour explains it, *These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone*. I ask then, what are *Natural Laws*? Why, what we conclude merely from the Light of Nature that God has commanded or forbidden, either to be believ'd or done. What then are *Positive Laws*? Why, what we know to be the Will of God by his express Word only. In both Cases then we see, that 'tis the Will of God and not the Goodness of the Thing, or the Manner of the Discovery which induces the Obligation. Befides, it is of eternal Reason that we shou'd worship the Deity according to his Nature when known: If then there are *Three Persons in the God-head, Consubstantial, Coequal and Coeternal*, then are we as much oblig'd from the Reason of the thing when reveal'd, to pay divine Honours to these *Three divine Persons*, as we were by Nature oblig'd to worship one God before we knew of these *Modes of Subsistence in the Godhead*. And, lastly, a right Faith is necessary in order to a right Practice; for we find it to be true in Fact, that *Heresies* are inconsistent with the Practice of true Christian Morality. Thus then I think I have prov'd, *That Heresies must be; that their Being is no Objection against the goodness of any Church or the Truth of the Christian Faith*: And in the next place, *That Matters of Faith are as necessary to Salvation as Matters of Practice*. I have shew'd likewise, that the Rule of Faith deposited with the Mother Churches by

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the *Apostles* or their *Companions*, that the Writings of *Apostolick Bishops* and *Catholick Doctors* in conformity to this Rule, and the several succeeding explanatory Enlargements on the *Creed*, establish'd by *General Councils* in opposition to rising Heresies, are the best *Canon* for the Interpretation of Holy Scripture. And in doing this I have persu'd the main Design of my *Author*, and herein have been doing some Service, I hope, to the Primitive *Protestant Church of England*, against all *Heretical Innovations*.

As to the *Version*, I have little to say, but only that I have made it my endeavour to be true and just to my *Author*, and to express his Sense with all the Brevity and Fulness, Strength and Perspicuity I am master of. I have taken the Liberty likewise (as some others before me have done) to throw sometimes two Chapters into one, when they seem'd to break in too fast and interrupt the Thread and Coherence of the Argument. I consulted the several *Editions* of *Filescacus*, *Costerius*, *Baluzius*, and that of *Cambridge*, and where they differ (which is not much and in Matters of little Moment) I follow that reading which in my Judgment seems the truest. As for the *Notes*, they are such as I judg'd most useful and instructive to a common *Reader*; such as might give him a sight of the Wiles and Artifices of the old *Innovators*, with the Nature of their *Doctrines*, the dreadful Notion the *Orthodox* always had of *Heresy* and *Schism*, and the prudent Measures they took to provide against them; such as may give an impartial Reader a just and rational Aversion to that *Church* that makes her boasts of *Antiquity*, and usurps the Name of *Catholick*, and yet has thrown off the *Catholick Principles*, debauch'd their *Doctrines*, adulterated and maim'd their Writings, added to their *Faith*, and appeals to *Vincentius*, in spight of all his Declarations against *Innovation*, and his main Rule

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of trying every Doctrine by the Canon of Scripture as understood by the Ancient, Catholick, Universal Church. In a word, the design of the Notes is to set the Primitive Religion in a true Light, and to let every honest Man see what Church bids fairest for Antiquity.

To conclude then, I find in *Tertullian* a certain *Sect*, who from these words—*Seek and ye shall find*, thought themselves oblig'd to rest satisfy'd with nothing, but to seek on for ever, and for every thing in Spight of the clearest Revelation about it. To this *Sect of Seekers* the Father addresses, and tells 'em, that they had strangely mistaken the Design and Meaning of those words; for they were spoken in the Infancy of the Gospel, when all Men doubted as yet whether he were the Christ or no; that they were intended as a Reproof to the Jews, who knew where Christ was to be sought: *They have Moses and the Prophets* (says he) and they speak of Christ; and accordingly commands 'em elsewhere in express words to *search the Scriptures, for in them ye have eternal Life, for they speak of me..* This then (says *Tertullian*) is the meaning of the Command, *seek and ye shall find*. But supposing it to be spoken to all Mankind, yet we must interpret the words according to common Sense and Reason. We are to seek till we find and then to give over seeking, as the *Woman* in the Gospel sought diligently for her piece of Silver till she found it, and then she gave over sweeping and seeking, and rejoyc'd with her Friends that she had found the Piece which was lost. There is then a certain positive Rule of Faith taught by Christ, which all Nations are bound to believe, and therefore to seek, that when they have found they may believe. For which Reason you are to seek till you have found, and when you have found you must believe; and nothing more is wanting but to keep this Faith sound and inviolate. And if any one doubts what

what this Faith is, I shall make it appear, that it is the *Depositum* committed to our Trust, and is now in our keeping. With much more to the same purpose, *Prescript.* cap. 8, 9, 10, &c.

The *Seekers* are now rising again, and fitting up the Arms of the *ancient Atheists*, and rallying all their scatter'd Forces under new *Generals*; and by the help of *Spinoza*, *Hobbs*, and some fresher *Scepticks*, *Criticks*, *Rights-men*, *Commentators* and *free Thinkers*, seem to be in great hopes of retrieving the Day, against God and all good Men: You may know them by their *Fruits*, and by the Name of the sincere *Lovers of Truth*. They are gone out in the Spirit of their Father the Devil, sincerely seeking whom they may devour: They seek sincerely to Reason us out of the Immortality of our Souls, and to argue us down to the Level of the *Beasts that perish*: They seek sincerely only to find Faults in the divinely inspir'd Writings, and to make a Mock of all the noble Army of *Martyrs and Confessors*, and of all they wrote, and did, and suffer'd for the Faith: They seek sincerely to prove, that *Christ was made Flesh*, and *Flesh only as we are*: They seek sincerely to interpret away a Providence even from his own Word, and to turn God into *Nature*, and his *Priests* out of the World.

Let us on the other side, seek as sincerely to serve God, as they do to serve the Devil: Let us not be ashamed to come forth in Publick and fight the Lord's Battel in this time of Need: Let us contend earnestly for the Faith once deliver'd to the Saints, and with a Zeal according to knowledge: Let us try the Spirits, and search the Scriptures as our only Rule, and study the Fathers as the best Interpreters of that Rule: Let us hold fast our Profession without wavering; and let us consider one another to provoke unto Love and to good Works: Not forsaking the Assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some

is;

A Preliminary Discourse, &c.

*is; rememb'reng withal, who it was that said, Be-
bold I come shortly, and my Reward is with me, to
give to every Man according as his Works shall be.
And do thou, O Almighty God, who hast compass'd
us about with so great a Cloud of Witnesseſ, give
us Grace that being not like Children carried away
with every blast of vain Doctrine, we may be esta-
blis'h'd in the Truth of thy holy Gospel, through Jesus
Christ our Lord. Amen.*

THE

THE
COMMONITORY
 OF
Vincentius Lirinenſis,
 Concerning the
RULE of FAITH
 In Opposition to all
HERETICAL INNOVATIONS.

P R E F A C E.

*The Author's Motives for Undertaking
 the Work.*

WHEN I reflect upon these Admonitions in Scripture, Remember the Deut. 32. 7.
 Days of Old, consider the Years of many Generations; ask thy Father and he will

* This certainly was not the original Title, and we may reasonably conclude it to have been, as we find it in Gennadius, lib. de illust. Eccles. Scriptor. c. 64. *Commonitorium Peregrini adversus Hæreticos.* And from the Design of this Tract, from several Passages in it, and from the great Opinion *Vincentius* had of *Tertullian's* Abilities, 'tis not unlikely that in this Title he had an eye upon that celebrated *Prescription adversus Hæreticos.*

sbew

The Commonitory

Prov. 22.

17.

Prov. 31.

shew thee, thy Elders and they will tell thee;
And again, Bow down thine Ear, and hear the
words of the Wise. And so likewise, My Son,
forget not my Laws, but let thine Heart keep my
Commandments; I am inclin'd to believe that
it may be of some use, if I ^b Peregrine, the
least of all the Servants of God, shou'd by his

^b *Videtur mihi, minime omnium servorum Dei, Peregrino, quod res non minima utilitas, Domino adjuvante, futura sit, &c.]* Vincentius by some learned Men is charg'd as a Semi-Pelagian, and the Author of the *Vincentian Questions*, and to have conceal'd himself under the Name of *Peregrinus*, that he might animadvert upon St. Austin the more securely. *Vid. Corn. Fansen. Ipr. Ep. Defens. Augustin. p. 76. p. 434. Voss. Hist. Pelag. lib. 1. c. 9.* On the other hand, he has his Compurgators, who acquit him of the whole Charge, particularly Bartholomaeus Petrus Duacensis, in a set Discourse before this *Commonitory*, which I confess I have not seen. What I have to say in my Author's Vindication, in short is this; No one ofterner implores divine Assistance than our *Vincentius*, he condemns *Pelagius* over and over again, and ranks him and his Disciple *Celestius* among the vilest Hereticks: He highly extols Pope *Celestine's* Zeal in writing to the French Bishops, and reproving their Moderation and Remissness in not publickly declaring against, and censuring the Impugners of St. *Austin*. 'Tis true indeed, that about this Time the Doctrine of Grace and Election ran extremely high, and a Man cou'd not say that he was a free Agent, but he was presently cry'd down for a *Semi-Pelagian*; and our Author well knowing what great things *Justin Martyr* and other Ancients had spoken of *Socrates*, and such as liv'd up to the Light of Nature, might think perhaps that St. *Austin* Had innovated and strain'd some Points a little too far the wrong way, as we bend a Stick to the contrary Extreme in order to straiken it. But that he cover'd himself under the Name of *Peregrinus*, the more commodiously to fall upon this excellent *Father*, is very strange to me; because he has done it, if at all, so sparingly and obscurely, that the Reader must have a very jealous Eye and as strong a Fancy to spy out St. *Austin* in this *Commonitory*, as to find out the Face of a Man in the Moon: The Passages suppos'd to reflect upon him I shall note in their Order. But there are much better Reasons to be given for *Vincentius's* going under the Name of *Peregrinus*; for I look upon it partly as the effect of his Humility, because he stiles himself in the same Sentence, *The least of all the Servants of God*, in imitation of that of the Apostle, *I am the least of the Apostles—* and

his Divine Assistance commit to Writing what I have truly and faithfully learnt from the Holy Fathers. For by this means at least, (whatever else may come of it) I shall certainly provide for my own Infirmitie, and have a constant Supply at hand for the Reparation of a frail and broken Memory: And yet not only the *Usefulness of the Work* but the *Consideration of Time*, and the *Commodiousness of the Place*, are other Inducements also to this Undertaking. For as *Time* is always snatching something from us in this World, so we by way of Reprizal, shou'd be always snatching something from *Time*, to make Provision for Eternity. And this more especially now, when not only the terrible Expectation of the Day ^c of Judgment just approaching, presses us

and less than the least of all Saints. And as Christians in general go under the denomination of *Strangers* and *Pilgrims* in Scripture, so *Vincentius* had a more particular Reason for assuming the Title of *Peregrine* or *Stranger*, as being a *Monk* and more eminently estrang'd from the World. Besides, it was a common Practice, especially amongst the *Monks* of *Lerin*, to disguise themselves under an appellative Name. Thus *Salvian* took the Name of *Timotheus*; and *Honoratus* the Abbot and Founder of this Monastery, who wrote the Life of St. *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, assum'd the Name of *Reverendus*. After all, *Vincentius* was Cotemporary with St. *Austin*, and in a Country and Monastery where he did not think himself oblig'd to be a rigid Follower of that great Man, whatsoever Esteem he might have for him. Nor can this be any Objection against the Rules here deliver'd by him for discerning the Doctrines of Faith, from Heresy, Error and Opinion; since they are the same which the Church always observ'd, which the holy Fathers lay down in their Writings, and which St. *Austin* himself gives in many places.

^c *Præsertim, cum & Appropinquantis Divini Judicii terribilis quædam expectatio augeri efflagitet studia Religionis: Et novorum Hæricorum fraudulentia multum cura & attentionis indiget.]* It has been

us to double our Diligence in Religion, but also the Artifice of modern Hereticks makes it necessary for Us to be upon our Guard, and calls for our utmost Care and Application to fence against them. The *Commodiousness of the Place* is likewise another Invitation to the Work. For having made my Escape from the Crowd and Clutter of Cities to an obscure Village, and there shut my self up in the Cloisters of a ^d Monastery, I am able to put in practice

been often observ'd already, how generally it obtain'd, if not among the Apostles, yet certainly amongst their immediate Successors, that the World was drawing to a Conclusion; and the frightful Scene of Misery and Confusion, the Inundation of the barbarous Nations; *the Wars and rumours of Wars*, look'd as it were like the Harbingers of approaching Judgment, and help'd no doubt to quicken this Opinion in *Vincentius*, so generally entertain'd by the Ancients, *That the End of all Things was at hand*. For near this time it was that *Gensericus*, King of the *Vandals*, by the Instigation of the *Arians*, miserably persecuted the Orthodox Bishops, and retook and sack'd *Carthage*; that *Atila*, King of the *Huns*, not only invaded the two *Hungaries*, but laid waste *Macedonia*, *Mysia*, *Achaea*, &c. and made terrible Attempts also upon the Western Empire. *Vid. Platin. in the Life of Xystus, or Sixtus*, as he calls him.

^d *Secretum Monasterii-Habitaculum, &c.*] The Place of our Author's Retirement was a Monastery in the Island of *Lerina* in the *Mediterranean*, adjoining to *France*, now call'd the Isle of *Honoratus*, the Founder of the Monastery. Whoever has a Mind to see a Description of the Charms of Solitude, and the Beauty of *Lerin*, and an account of the Great Men, besides our *Vincentius* form'd in that Retirement, may consult a little Book of *Eucherius* in praise of the Desart, dedicated to St. *Hilary* afterward Bishop of *Arles*. But that which I think of more Importance to observe, is, that the *Primitive Monks* were quite another sort of People from those who go under that denomination now adays. For they seem at first to have been driven out by Persecutions into Mountains and Desarts, Rocks and Caves, where they liv'd to God and themselves alone under prodigious Mortifications, without ever intermeddling in Affairs either of Church or State. St. *Anthony*, a dear Friend to *Athanasius*, was the first Founder of the Monastic Institution: He was a Lay-Man, and of the same Rank were all the Monks at first, according to that of St. *Jerom*, *Monachus Plangens*,

practice that of the *Psalmist* without distraction, *Be still, and know that I am God.*

Psal. 46.10.

Moreover, such a Work suits best with that religious Life I now profess; I have been sufficiently toss'd about for some time in the sad Variety and Confusion of a Military Life, but now at length by the Blessing of Christ, have taken Shelter in this *Harbour of Religion*, the safest

tis, non Docentis officium habet. 'Tis the Office of a Monk to mourn, and not to teach. Duarenus de Sacr. Eccles. Minist. & Benef. lib. i. c. 20. tells us, That there were no Priests in the ancient Monasteries, but the Monks came all to the common Churches as other People did. They sometimes indeed sent to a Priest to come and Officiate amongst 'em, and to be eas'd of that Trouble procur'd some Monks to be ordain'd, that so they might be a Church as it were amongst themselves. *Vid. Lindan. Panop. Hinc illa Lachryma;* For by little and little every Monk of 'em got into Orders and began to encroach upon the Authority and Revenues of the Churches, either because they were Founded within their Lands, or because it pleas'd the Pope at length to take them from the Bishops and subject them to the Monks, who return'd him the Complement of Infallibility for his Usurpation. In these Monasteries then were the Youth train'd up, as they were in all Cathedral Churches before the Founding of Universities. But here it may be observ'd, that either for some foreseen or actual Abuses in these Monastick Societies, it was decreed by the Fourth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, that no Monasteries or Religious Houses whatever, should be founded without the Consent of the Bishop of the City, and that they shou'd be all subject to *Episcopal Jurisdiction.* Τές δὲ καθ' εναστώλιν τόλμην καὶ χωρεγούντας τούτοις λάχθαι την Ἐπισκοπήν. How well this Canon hath been observ'd, the many Exemptions here in England are a Proof with a Witness; They are standing Marks of the Beast, and shameful Scars of Popish Tyranny, which after all our Aversion to Rome, we care not shou'd be cur'd, and which shew us to be as yet distant from the Primitive Church in point of Government. The first Invaders of this kind, and the intolerable After-abuses may be seen more fully in the learned Bishop Beveridge's Annotations upon the Canon now mentioned.

* *Tandem nos in Portum Religionis, cunctis semper fidissimum, Christo adspirante condidimus.]* The good *Vincentius*, it seems, had seen enough of the World and a Military Life, to be heartily sick of both, and to make for this *Haven of Religion* with all the Sail

safest Refuge from the World; here to divest my Soul of all its ruffling Passions of Pride and Vanity; and to offer unto God the acceptable Sacrifice of an humble and truly Christian Spirit; that thus insur'd from worldly Temptations, I may avoid not only the Wrecks of the Life present, but the Burnings of that which is to come.

I shall now then, in the Name of the Lord, set about the Work, *viz.* to transcribe those things that have been deliver'd by the Fathers, and are deposited in our Hands; and this I shall do with the Fidelity of a Relator, rather than the Presumption of an Author: And here the Rule I shall observe in Writing will be this, Not to collect every Thing, but only to touch upon necessary Principles. Nor shall I affect

he cou'd, in order to get out of the way of Temptation, and to dispose his Soul for the Enjoyments of another Life. This *Haven* he calls *Cunctis semper fidissimum*: And the same solitary way of Living is highly recommended by *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Nazianzen*, *Chrysostom*, and many others. But the Storms and Persecutions of these Times no doubt help'd to inspire the Panegyricks, and encrease the Passion for Retirement: For certain it is, that as great if not greater things may be said for the Publick, as the Private Life. A Man may be dead to the World in the midst of its Temptations, and he may meet with the Devil in a Wilderness, as well as in a Court; and Pride and Soverneſſe are extremely apt to grow in the Shade. If Dangers are more and mightier abroad, the Example is more shining and the Victory and Reward proportionably greater; and had our Author liv'd to see the Degeneracy of some Monasteries, he would have found it possible to have suffer'd Shipwreck in his beloved *Haven*, and not have call'd it, *Cunctis semper fidissimum*. After-all, our Saviour's Example of *going about doing Good*, is worth all the speculations in the World. Here again the Reader may take notice, what an humble acknowledgment our Author expresses of the Necessity of Divine Grace; for we have *Christo adspirante, In nomine Domini, Domino prstante, Domino adjuvante,* all within a few Lines one of another.

any

any Imbellishments or Accuracy of Stile in this Epitome, but go in the plain common way of Expression, that it may pass rather for a Book of *Memorandums*, than a perfect Treatise. Fine Figures and Correctnes of Stile, I leave to the Men of Brightness, or the Professors of Eloquence; I shall content my self with having drawn up this *Breviary* for the Benefit of Memory, and chiefly indeed for my own private Use. However, by degrees, recollecting what I have read, I design, God willing, to set it out more correct and perfect. And this I thought proper to advertize, that if it should chance to get from me, and fall into the Hands of the Faithful, they would please not to be too hasty in their Censures, when they find it confessedly an unfinish'd Piece, and have the Author's word that he will polish it more completely.

C H A P. I.

The Method of discerning Heresies.

I have been at^f great Pains, and often made it my particular Busines to consult very many

^f Sape igitur magno studio & summa attentione perquirens,
Hujusmodi semper Responsum ab omnibus fere retuli.] Is it possible
to imagin, that at this time there shou'd have been a famous
infallible Judge of Controversies fix'd at Rome, and a Western
Monk, and a great Reverencer of that Apostolick See know nothing
of it? And in this Case, idem est non esse, & non apparere, Infal-
libility

ny Persons of the highest Rank for Piety and Learning, about a certain general Rule to distinguish the true Catholick Faith from the Depravations of Heresie ; and after repeated Inquiries, the Sum of all their Answers amounted to this, That if I, or any other Christian, would discover the Artifice of growing Hereticks, and keep out of their Snares, and continue perfectly sound in the right Faith, the Way, by God's Grace, is to secure it upon these Two Foundations. 1st, Upon the Authority of Holy Scripture ; and after that, Upon the Tradition of the Catholick Church.

libility had as good not be at all, as not appear to be. Nay, that *Vincentius* in a set Discourse about a Rule of Faith, and a Preservative against Heresie and Schism, should not only pass over the Church of Rome, but exclude it, is more strange yet. And yet thus it is; for here he tells us, that after his utmost Inquiries among the Living and the Dead, among the best Men, and the best Books, he could meet with no other Direction for the security of his Faith, but to follow the *holy Scripture as interpreted by the universal Church*. Besides, had he dreamt any thing about the Pope's Infallibility, he had been as impertinently Inquisitive, as he who should consult all the Quacks in Europe about his Health, when he knew of a Physician hard by, that could infallibly cure him. And therefore, notwithstanding our Author is so complemented by the Papists, Teeth outwards, yet had he liv'd in the Times of Infallibility, and left out the Church of Rome in his Rule of Faith, I dare say we might have found our Monk in the Inquisition for his Pains.

C H A P. II.

*Reasons for subjoining the Tradition of
the Catholick Church to the Canon of
Scripture.*

BUT here perhaps a Man may ask this Question, Since the ⁵ Canon of the Scripture

⁵ *Cum sit perfectus Scripturarum Canon, sibiq; ad omnia satis superq; sufficiat, quid opus est ut ei Ecclesiastice Intelligentiae jungatur Authoritas?* This Perfection of Scripture is unanimously maintain'd by all the Fathers, but for Brevity sake, I shall only mention the Testimony of St. Austin, de Doctr. Christ. l. 2. c. 9. In iis, quæ aperte in Scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moresq; vivendi. The next Question is, what kind of Perfection that is, which the Fathers and we attribute to the holy Scripture, and it is the Perfection of a Rule; and the two Properties of a Rule, are Fulness and Perspicuity; for if it wants any Addition it is not full; and if it wants Perspicuity, it cannot direct and Regulate, which is the end of a Rule; so that when our Author asserts the *Canon of Scripture to be perfect, and abundantly sufficient in all Respects*, his meaning is, that it contains all things necessary to Salvation fully and clearly, provided a Man comes with an ordinary Understanding, and an honest Heart; for the Sun it self is no Direction to a blind Man, or which is all one to a Man that wilfully shuts his Eyes. Now here again 'tis worth observing, how the Church of Rome ingrosses the *Ancients*, and yet contradicts their Doctrine; for in opposition to *Vincentius*, the *Papists* acknowledge the *Scripture to be a perfect Rule, as much as a Writing can be a Rule; only they deny, that it excludes unwritten Tradition*. That is, the *Scripture is a perfect Rule, only 'tis imperfect, and wants Tradition*; and yet the Determinations of the Council of *Trent*, may be a perfect written Rule, tho' the *holy Scripture* cannot. In the next place it well deserves our Notice, that after our Author has affirm'd the *Scripture to be a perfect Rule*, he mentions not the least title of any Necessity of an infallible living Judge to interpret that Rule, and indeed it had been extremely impertinent, if he had mention'd it; for supposing I am to go a Journey, if I know my way, or have a plain Rule to know it by, I want no Guide; and if I have an infallible Guide, I want neither

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ture is compleat, and more than sufficient in every respect, what need is there for adding the Sence of the Catholick Church to such a perfect Rule? To which Question I answer, That there is good Reason for such Addition; because the sacred Writings having a sublime Sence, all Understandings cannot reach it alike; but one expounds the divine Oracles after this manner, and another after that; insomuch, that there are almost as many Opinions about the true Meaning, as there are Expositors. For Instance, ^h Novatianus interprets one way, Photinus

to know my way, nor to have a Rule. But because our Author knew that the Gospel was a Touchstone of Ingenuity, and was never design'd to drag Men to be Christians, but to lead them like rational Creatures; and because a crooked Wit may pervert the plainest Text, and some Things are hard to be understood, which unlearned and unstable Men wrest to their own Damnation, therefore to prevent any fatal Mistakes, we are sent to the Catholick Church of the first Ages of Christianity for the Interpretation of Scripture; and this Secundary Rule of Vincentius, the Church of England is at this Day willing to be try'd by.

^h Aliter namq; illam Novatianus, aliter Photinus, aliter Sabellius, aliter Donatus exponit, aliter Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, &c.] Here are thirteen Hereticks ringing Changes upon Scripture, were they all in one Note, they might be in the wrong, but in such Contrariety 'tis just as impossible they should be in the right, as for thirteen Mountebanks bawling in the Piazza, that they had the only Antidote in the World against Poison, and yet every Man of 'em prescribe contrary to one another. All the Hereticks here mention'd, except Macedonius, we shall meet with again in a more convenient Place, and therefore I shall here speak only of the Macedonian Heresie. When the Arians had murther'd Paulus the good Bishop of Constantinople, they chose Macedonius to succeed him, concluding him a Man after their own Heart, because he join'd with 'em in part, in denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghost; but they soon outed him for refusing to call him a Creature, whom the Scripture calls the Son of God. Upon which, he withdrew from the Arian and Eudoxian Party, and set up a Heresie of his own; he asserts the Son to be δύοιον καὶ αὐτὸν τῷ γεγονότι; like τῷ θεῷ in all Things, but he would not call him δύοιον τῷ πατέρι;

Photinus another, Sabellius another, Donatus another, Arius another, Eunomius, Macedonius another, Apollinaris, Priscillianus another, Jovinianus, Pelagius, Celestius another; and in fine Nestorius another. And therefore, under so great Difficulties, in such a Perplexity of various Error, I hold it extremely necessary to apply the Sence of the Catholick Church to the Scriptures, as a Rule to a Line, and as the Clue to conduct us in this Labyrinth of Opinions.

πατεῖ, of the same Substance with the Father; but he expressly maintains the Holy Ghost to be a Creature. Κτισδν ἃ τὸ πνεῦμα περιφεγγός ὄνομάζων. Vid. Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 6. The Semi-Arians, and those which were Orthodox as to the Divinity of the Son, but oppos'd the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, were called πνευμαλογικοὶ, and afterwards Macedonians. Vid. S. Aug. Har. 52. This Heresie was first condemn'd by the Council of Alexandria. Vid. Socr. lib. 3, c. 7. Afterwards by the Council of Illyricum. Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 8. and by a Synod held at Rome with the Gallican Bishops under Damasus. Theodoret. l. 2. c. 22. And by another Synod at Rome under the same Damasus. Theodoret. l. 5. c. 10. After all it was fully condemn'd in the Second General Council at Constantinople, which to the εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα δύον, where the Nicene Creed ended, added, τὸ κύεον, τὸ ζωοτοίδν, τὸ εἰς τὸ Πατέρες εὐπορεόμενον, καὶ τὸ σὺν Πατεῖ καὶ καθ' συμπερσκιώμενον, καὶ σωδοξαζόμενον. Thus the Heresie of Macedonius, who made the Holy Ghost a created Person was anathematiz'd by the Second General Council at Constantinople; the very First Canon of which amongst several other Hereticks makes mention of the Πνευμαλογικοὶ, or the Fighters against the Holy Ghost.

C H A P. III.

Certain Rules for the safe Conduct of a Christian in the Choice of his Opinions.

AND for us who are in the Bosom of the Catholick Church, it ought to be our first and principal Care to choose such Doctrines, as we find to have been believ'd in all ¹ Places, at all Times, and by all the Faithful.

For

[¹ Quod ubiq; quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est etenim verè propriæ Catholicum.] Bellarmin's First Note of a true Church is taken from the Name of Catholick, Bellar. c 4. de Not. Eccles. p. 1477. The Apostle (says he) 1 Cor. 3. 4. makes it the Mark of Schismaticks to be called after the Name of particular Men, tho' of the Apostles themselves, whether of Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas. And in the Writings of the Fathers, the Orthodox Churches were distinguish'd by the Name of Catholick, and the Conventicles of Schismaticks and Hereticks by the Names of their First Authors. And therefore since the Church of Rome is by her bitterest Enemies called Catholick, and the several Sects of the Reform'd after the particular Names of their Doctors, as Lutherans, Calvinists, Zuinglians, &c. it follows that the Name of Catholick is not only a sure undoubted Mark of the true Church, but also, that this Church of Rome is that Church, First, then observe, that the Christian Church was not known by the Name of Catholick in the beginning, we find no mention of this Name in all the New Testament; and therefore the Name of Catholick can be no essential Note of the true Church: And Catholick being a Term that respects the diffusiveness of the Church, it had been a very improper Epithet before the Christian Church was spread thro' any considerable part of the World, to have call'd it Catholick. The most ancient Author that I know of, who calls the Church, Catholick, is Ignatius in his Epistle to the Smyrnæans, p. 6. ὅσπες ὁπερ ἐν τῷ χειρὶ Ἰησοῦς· εἰς δὲ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· But now to argue from a Name to a Thing, that the Church of Rome is a pure Orthodox Church, because she is called Catholick, is just such an Argument, as if the greatest Rogue in Christendom should go about to prove himself an honest Man, because, forsooth, he is call'd a Christian. When good Men can't be call'd by ill Names, or bad Men give themselves good Names, then, and

not

For there is nothing truly and properly *Catholick*, (as the Word sufficiently declares) but what truly and fully comprehends all these. And we are thus *Catholick*, when we follow *Universality*, *Antiquity*, and unanimous *Consent*; but we follow *Universality*, when we profess that only to be the true Faith, which is profess'd by the Church all the World over. In like manner, we are Followers of *Antiquity*, when we religiously adhere to that Sense of Scripture, which manifestly obtain'd amongst the holy Fathers our Predecessors. And lastly, we follow *Consent*, when we embrace the Definitions and Opinions of almost all, if not all, the Bishops and Teachers in the ancient Church.

nor till then, will the Title of *Catholick*, be a good Proof of an undefiled Church. But that which makes an Orthodox Church, is an Orthodox Faith; and according to this Rule of *Vincentius*, that is the true *Catholick* Faith which has obtain'd in all Places, at all Times, and been believ'd by all the Faithful. Let us see now how the present Church of *Rome*, who appropriates to her self the Name of *Catholick*, can justify this Title according to this Definition. Let her prove then her unwritten Traditions, her seven Sacraments, the Sacrifice of the Mass, Transubstantiation, her Half-Communion, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Worship of Images, the Pope's Infallibility, and all the Definitions of the *Trent*-Council, that is, let her prove the Creed of Pope *Pius* the Fourth to have been the Creed of all the Churches at all times from the Apostles to the Council of *Nice*, or only in the Days of the Apostles, and we will allow her to be a true Member of the *Catholick* Church; but even then the *Roman* can't be called the *Catholick* Church, unless it be by the same Figure as they now call a Communion *Single*. And therefore till she can prove these Doctrines to be agreeable to the holy Scriptures as interpreted by the general Consent of the Ancients in all Times and Places, 'tis evident that by this Rule of *Vincentius*, she holds not the true *Catholick* Faith, and consequently deserves not to be called a *Catholick* Church.

C H A P. IV.

Directions in Case of Schism.

BUT what shall an Orthodox Christian do, if some part of the Church shall cut it self off from Communion with the Catholick Faith? Why then, there is nothing to be done, but to prefer the Body that is sound, before a putrefy'd and infectious Member. But what if some new Error should infect not only a small part, but should be ready to spread it self at the same time over the ^x whole Church? Then we must be sure to cleave close to *Antiquity*, which on a sudden cannot be totally corrupted by any novel Imposture. But what if among the very *Ancients* we find two or three Persons, or perhaps a whole City or Province in an Error? Why then our great Care must be to prefer the Determinations of the Ancient Church made in some general

* *Quid si novella aliqua Contagio non jam portiunculam tantum, sed totam pariter Ecclesiam commaculare conetur?* Our Author supposes a Case here, which, were I a Papist, I should not thank him for, viz. *That the whole Present Church might possibly be corrupted.* And what then will become of the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*? And when he comes to the Proof of this in his sixth Chapter, he gives an Instance of an Heresie, which had almost corrupted the whole World, the *Latin Church*, especially the *Pope* himself not excepted, as I shall shew when I come to the Instance. But by the *whole Church*, our Author must mean the *Church Representative*, and not the *Church Diffusive*, or every individual Member of Christendom, because he supposes some sound Christians to be left, and for a Preservative against this universal Corruption, advises 'em to keep close to *Antiquity*, which on a sudden cannot be totally polluted with any novel Imposture.

Council

Council (if any such Determinations there be) before the Rashness or Ignorance of some Particulars. But what if a Question arise, concerning which there are no such Determinations extant? Why then we must make it our Business to consult the Judgements of the Ancients, and compare together what those Authors have said at several times and distinct places, who persevering in the Faith and Communion of the one Catholick Church, may be look'd on as approved Teachers, and worthy of Credit; and whatever we find to have been asserted not only by one or two of them, but to have been held, written, and taught by all, unanimously, clearly, commonly, and constantly, there to ¹ fix our Faith, and rest satisfy'd.

¹ *Id sibi quoq; intelligat absq; ullâ dubitatione credendum.]* Vincentius tells that upon any emergent Difficulty concerning the Faith, we should have Recourse to the Decrees of general Councils, if any such Decrees relating to the Point in Question are to be found; if not, he bids us consult such of the Ancients, who at different times, and different places were look'd upon as the most approved Doctors of the Age they liv'd in; and what they teach unanimously, plainly, frequently, and constantly, of that to rest *indubitably certain*. But tho' *indubitable Certainty* in our Author's Opinion is sufficient, yet in the Opinion of the Papists, it seems it is not; for they tell us, that we must have an absolute infallible Certainty in Matters of Faith, and send us therefore to a Church, which (as they say) cannot err; because *if we may be deceiv'd, we must be always uncertain*. But first, how am I to be infallibly certain of this infallible Church? From Scripture? That cannot be, because, tho' I undoubtedly believe the Scripture to be the Word of God, yet the Reasons I believe it upon are the intrinsic Goodness of the Revelation and human Testimony. And therefore the Effect cannot exceed the Cause, and my Belief rise higher than the Motives of Credibility, that is, I cannot be infallibly certain upon the Grounds only of a moral Assurance. Secondly, Supposing I was infallibly certain of the Truth of Scripture; yet is it any where said directly, and in express Terms, that the

tisfy'd. But to make this Matter more intelligible, I shall illustrate each Rule by an Example, and dwell something more particularly upon it ; for fear that out of an overfond Desire of Brevity, I shou'd too lightly pass over the most weighty Points in this short and cursory way of Writing.

Church of *Rome* cannot err ? If not, how can I be oblig'd to see that clearly which is but obscure, and which none of the Ancients cou'd see any more than I ? This is in effect to command Impossibilities, and oblige Men to see what is invisible. Thirdly, We read of Degrees of Faith in Scripture, of a Little and Great, a Weak and a Strong Faith, we find the Apostles praying to God to help their Unbelief, and to increase their Faith ; but do Men use to pray for degrees of Infallibility, or to believe what they see or know ? So that Faith is not founded upon infallible Certainty, nor are the Motives of it equal to the Evidence of Sense or Science. And lastly, To say, *That if we may be deceiv'd, we must be always uncertain* ; is to tell all the World what they know to be a Lye. For 'tis possible that my Senses may deceive me sometimes, and yet I am indubitably certain of what I see and feel. I have often mistook my Road ; but does it follow from thence, that I cannot be certain of my Way to the next Door, or my own Parish-Church ? I conclude therefore with my Author, that upon any emergent Difficulty concerning Matters of Faith, when I have follow'd the Directions here laid down, I may rest even so Indubitably certain as to lay down my Life for it, tho' not Absolutely infallible, that the Faith which was sufficient for the Primitive Christians, will be so to me ; and that God will assuredly accept of such a Faith, because I have done my best to be rightly inform'd, and no Man can do more.

C H A P. V.

*The Example of the Donatists apply'd here
to shew, That we ought to keep to Uni-
versality.*

IN the Time of ^m *Donatus*, from whom the *Donatists* deriv'd their Name, a great Part of *Africa* plung'd themselves into his extravagant Error; and no longer mindful of the Name

*"Tempore Donati, a quo Donatistæ.] The Instance of *Donatus* being here produc'd to illustrate that Part of the Rule, which orders us to adhere to the Communion of the Catholick Church in Case of any particular Schism, it may not be improper to give some Account of the Schism, and the Schism-maker. There were two *Donati* of the same Party, *Donatus* Bishop of *Casa Nigra* or *Calame*, and *Donatus* Bishop of *Carthage*, and Successor to *Majorinus*. I have written a Book (faith St. Austin) against the Epistle of *Donatus* who was Bishop of Carthage, next after *Majorinus*, wherein he pretends that the Baptism of *Iesus Christ* is not valid out of his Communion. vid. Aug. Retract. l. i. c. 21. From this *Donatus* it was, that the Schismatics call'd themselves *Donatists*. The Occasion of this long and bloody Schism, was this; upon the Death of *Mensurius* Bishop of *Carthage*, *Cecilian* was chosen to succeed him by the unanimous Suffrages of the People, and consecrated by *Felix* Bishop of *Aptungis*. Whereupon *Bonitus* and *Celestius*, who had been intriguing for that Bishoprick, finding themselves disappointed, struck in with one *Lucilla*, an imperious and stomachful Lady, who cou'd never forgive the Reprimand *Cecilian*, when Arch-Deacon, gave her for kissing the Bones of a dead Man just before she receiv'd the Communion. These three set their Heads a working to ou't *Cecilian* of his Bishoprick, and for that end dispatch'd Letters to *Secundus* Bishop of *Tigisis* to hasten to *Carthage*, with the rest of the *Numidian* Bishops, who had been *Traditors* in the *Dioclesian* Persecution; and yet falsly objected this very Crime against *Felix*, thereby to invalidate the Ordination of *Cecilian*; accordingly they protested against Communion with *Cecilian*, and set up *Majorinus* in his stead, who was a Domestick of *Lucilla*, and had been Reader*

Name of *Christian*, nor the Religion they profess'd, preferr'd the Sacrilegious Rashness of a single Person, before the Authority of the whole Christian Church. In this critical Juncture then, those in *Africa* that detested the abominable Schism, and held Communion with all the other Churches in Christendom, those

der of *Carthage* when *Cecilian* was Deacon; they sent likewise a Circular Letter to all the Bishops of *Africa* to persuade them to a Rupture with *Cecilian*. However, *Cecilian* continu'd in the See of *Carthage*, and in Communion with great Part of the Bishops of *Africa*, and with all the other Bishops of the World, who declar'd themselves in his Favour against the *Numidians*, who made the Schism. They were condemn'd by a Synod of nineteen Bishops at *Rome*, where *Miltiades* was President. But the Party of *Majorinus* concluding they had hard measure, address'd themselves to *Constantine*; upon which, in the Year 314, he call'd a Council in the City of *Arles*, which condemn'd them likewise. At last they appeal'd from hence to the Emperor, who, believing he might take Cognizance of this Cause as being a Matter of Fact only, an Accusation against *Cecilian*; or because he wou'd oblige the *Donatists* to yield, (as St. *Austin* thinks) gave Judgment himself at *Milan* in favour of *Cecilian*; condemn'd the *Donatists*, caus'd an Information to be drawn up against *Sylvanus* who was of their Party, and their Temples to be taken from them; but recommends 'em to be gently treated, as a Means to bring them back into the Bosom of the Church. *vid. Optat. Milev. l. 1, 2, contr. Parmen. August. Epist. 162. 165, 166. &c alibi.* As to their Opinions, I have already taken notice of their Presumption in Rebaptizing the *Catholics*, which *Epiphanius* remarks as the Practice of the *Cathari* also, *Epiphan. Hær. 59.* And as Schismatics have always set up for Saints, so the *Donatists* were the *Puritans* of that Age; they look'd upon themselves as the only *People of the Lord*, as the Church *without Spot or Wrinkle*, and pretended to perfect Righteousnes; and this was common to them with the *Novatians*. *Aug. l. 2. contr. Ep. Parmen. c. 7, 8, 9.* Secondly, They held the Just to be defil'd by Communicating with the Wicked, and That to be no Church at all, where such a mix'd Communion was tolerated; and this too was common to them with the *Novatians*. *vid. Cypr. lib. 4. Ep. 2.* And as a Consequence of this, they agreed with the *Novatians*, That they alone were the Church of Christ. *Aug. Hær. 69.* How they subdivided into Factions, and into what Extravagances they ran at length, may be seem more fully in *Theodore. lib. 4. Hær. Fab.*

alone

alone are the People who can be said to be in a State of Salvation, who continu'd within the Sacred ⁿ Boundaries of the Catholick Faith, and Union. And herein they have left a very memorable Precedent, That according to this laudable

[Soli ex illis omnibus intra Sacraria Catholica Fidei salvi esse potuerunt.] In this Schism of the Donatists, our Author concludes none in a State of Salvation but such as adher'd to the Communion of the Catholick Church. *Optatus of Milevi adv. Paxmen.* I. i. de Schism. Donat. makes Schism worse than Homicide and Idolatry. And St. Austin upon the like Occasion asks, *Quid prodest homini vel sana Fides ubi lethali vulnera Schismatis perempta est sanitas Charitatis?* I. i. de Bapt. cont. Donatist. cap. 8. What will a sound Faith profit a Man, when the Soundness of his Charity is destroy'd by the fatal Wound of Schism? And to mention but one more, and that is the blessed Cyprian, who tells us, That nothing, tho' ever so good and excellent, no, not Martyrdom it self, is available to the Salvation of Heretick or Schismatrick. *Si quis ad Haereticos aut Schismaticos rejectus ab Ecclesia transeat, & si occisus propter nomen Domini postmodum fuerit extra Ecclesiam constitutus & ab unitate divisus, coronari in morte non potest.* Lib. 4. Ep. 2. Which I take to be the best Interpretation of that of the Apostle, If I give my Body to be burn'd, and have not Charity, it profiteth me nothing. This then was the Notion which Ignatius, Cyprian, Austin, and all the Old Priests (according to the Modern Dialect) had of Schism from the Beginning; and tho' now it is look'd upon only as a Spiritual Scare-crow, yet Names will not alter the Nature of Things, and Schism will never cease to be a Sin, till Charity ceases to be a Virtue; for Schism is the Mother of Uncharitableness, and every evil Work. The Novatians and Donatists were not so outrageous in their Schism as to lay aside the very Principle of Unity, which they look'd upon the Bishop to be, and therefore had Titular Bishops of their own, and so kept up the Face and Appearance of a Church; but our Separatists make that Principle of Unity the very Ground of their Schism; for which Reason, had they liv'd in the Primitive Times, I know not any with whom they cou'd have held Communion. Thus then it stands at present with the Church of England; the Papists on one side condemn her for Novelty in Doctrine, tho' she professes the same Articles of Faith which the Ancient Catholick Church always profess'd; the Separatists on the other side condemn her of Anti-Christianism in Government, tho' she maintains the same Form of Government which always obtain'd in the Primitive Church; and between these two Millstones

laudable Practice, Posterity in the like Case shou'd always preferr the sound Doctrine of the Universal Church before the Frenzies of one Man, or the Madness of a Party.

C H A P. VI.

The Example of the Arians apply'd here to illustrate that Rule, which says, That we must reject Novelty, and keep firm to Antiquity.

Moreover, when the ^o Arian Heresy had not only spread its Poison over a small Portion of *Christendom*, but had in a manner infected the whole Christian World; and almost

stones she is ground; and if she offers to take her Enemies to Task, and provide for her own Security, they both presently cry out upon Persecution, like untoward Children, that kick, and scratch, and bite, and yet all the while cry out as if they were kill'd.

^o *Item quando Arrianorum venenum non jam portiunculam quan-*
dam, sed pene Orbem totum contaminaverat, &c.] Tho' our Author
 is made so much of by the Papists, tho' he stands Sainted in the
Roman Martyrology, yet does he stab the present Church of *Rome*
 to the heart almost in every Chapter. For here he tells us, that
 the whole World in a manner was turn'd *Arian*, according to that
 of *Jerome*, *Ingenuit totus Orbis, & Arianum se esse miratus est.*
Dial. adv. Lucifer. c. 7. And whenever the like Infection shou'd
 happen to over-run Christendom, he directs us to keep close
 to *Antiquity*, to the Catholick Faith in the first Ages of the Church.
 Now I wou'd fain see a Reason why this Author shou'd not direct
 us to the Church of *Rome* for Security in such a Case, had he
 thought *Infallibility* had taken up its Seat there; but this he cou'd
 not possibly think, because he tells us expressly, that all the Bi-
 shops

most all the Bishops of the *Latin* Church, partly by Fraud, and partly by Force, had gone in to

shops of the *Latin* Church especially, had been tainted with *Arianism*, and he knew that Pope *Liberius* himself had been prevail'd on at length to subscribe to that Heresy, and the Condemnation of *Athanasius*. Most strange then wou'd it be, that *Vincentius* shou'd agree with *Bellarmino* in making *Amplitude* or *Variety* of Believers a Note of the true Church, when according to the Proverb, *The whole World was against Athanasius, and Athanasius against the whole World*. But this Note of *Bellarmino* is the very Argument urg'd by the Emperor *Constantius* in the Defence of *Arianism* against Pope *Liberius*: For thus said *Constantius*, *πόσον εἰ μέγες τὸ οἰκουμένης, ὅτι σὺ μόνος συναίρεις αὐθεάπω αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ οἰκουμένης τὸ εἰρήνηλον καὶ ὅλη τὸ κόσμος λύεις; Who are you, and what a poor pittance of the Universe is Rome, that you alone shou'd stand up in the Defence of one vile Fellow, to the disturbance of the Roman Empire, and the Peace of the whole World?* To which *Liberius* thus reply'd; *εἰ διὰ τὸ ξεῖνον με μόνον, διὰ πίστεως εἰλαττόντος λόγου. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ παλαιόν, τρεῖς μόνοις ἐνείσκοντο αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς περισσάτεροι.* But, suppose, I shou'd stand alone in the Defence of this Man, that can be no just Objection against the Truth of his Faith; for of old, Three only were found that withstood the Decree of the King. To which, as Men usually begin to Rail, when they can no longer Reason, *Eusebius* the Eunuch reply'd, *Very fine, you make a Nebuchadnezzar of our Emperor. Vid. Theodorit. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 16. p. 94.* The *Arian* Heresy is generally so well known, that it seems needless to explain it; it took its denomination from Two of the same Name, who both fell into the Error at the same time. *Vid. Theodoret. l. 1. c. 4. p. 20.* But because there are some Things in this Heresy not commonly taken notice of, it may not be amiss here to observe, First, That the *Arians* made the Nature of the *Logos* to suffer in the Flesh; This, *Phabadius*, the first Writer of the *Latin* Church who wrote against the *Arians*, charges 'em with, *l. adv. Arian. c. 7, 8.* They held likewise the Holy Ghost to be a Creature of a Creature, that is, to be made by the Son. *Vid. Epiphanius. Hares. 69. Aug. Her. 49.* And therefore *Eusebius*, if not an *Arian* with respect to the Divinity of the Son, yet is not without great Difficulty to be acquitted of *Arianism* in respect to the Holy Ghost. For in his Ecclesiastick Theology, *lib. 3. c. 6.* we find these Words; *τὸ δὲ παρεχόμενον ἀλιτον Πνεῦμα, γέτε Θεός, γέτε ψός, ἐπειδὴ μὴ εἰς τὸ Πατέρος δύοις τῷ ψόῳ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ ψύκτοις εἴληφεν, ἐγ δέ τι τὸ διὸ τὸ ψόν ψυκτῶν τυγχάνει, ὅτι τὸ πάντα δι' αὐτὸν ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτὸν ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ εὖ. The Holy Ghost the Comforter, is neither God, nor the Son, because he does not, like the Son,*

to the Delusion ; insomuch that the Greatness of the Mist, and the Confusion of the Ways, made it extremely difficult to know what Path to follow ; then whoever was a sincere Lover and Worshipper of Christ preserv'd himself from the general Contagion by this Antidote, *By preferring the ancient Faith before the new fangled Infidelity.* The Experiments of this Age are Conviction with a Witness, what a Torrent of Calamity comes rolling in with Innovation of Doctrine. For Little and Great go both to wrack ; and the Disorder terminates not only in the Ruin of Relations, Friends, and Families, but in the Overthrow of Cities, People, Provinces, and Nations ; for in fine, the Foundations of the whole *Roman Empire* were out of Course, and flung into Convulsions by this Heresy.

Son, derive his Being from the Father, but is one of those Things which were made by the Son ; for all Things were made by him, and without him was not any Thing made, no, not one. Where Eusebius citing the Place of St. John, (as he d^th elsewhere in the same Chapter) to prove that the Holy Ghost was made by the Son, doth as our most learned Bishop Pearson observes, twice together leave out these Words, by which the Catholicks us'd to refute that Heresy of the Arians, *viz.* & *γέσονται.* For thus they argu'd, All Things which were made, were made by the Son ; but the Holy Ghost was not among the *α& γέσονται*, the Things that were made, and therefore was not made by the Son. *Vid. Pearson on the Creed*, p. 315. The Arians likewise agreed with the Novatians and Donatists in Rebaptizing the Catholicks. *Vid. Aug. Her.* 49. And in Spain, they us'd the *Trine Immersion* to denote the Persons in the Trinity to be Three distinct Substances, and glory'd that the Catholicks did, and held the same with them ; upon which account, the fourth Council of Toledo, *Can.* 6, out of a Letter of *Gregory the Great* there inserted, determin'd that the Catholicks there shou'd make use of single Immersion only.

For

For when *Arianism*, that direful Monster, made its Entry, it enter'd like a *Fury*, and first seiz'd upon the ^P *Supreme Head*, the Emperor; and

^P *Capo prius omnium Imperatore.*] I make no doubt but this Emperor was *Constantius*, because the Tragical Proceedings here mention'd, are much the same with those we find in the *Petitions* of *Hilary Bishop of Poitiers* to *Constantius*; and therefore I shall set down some Passages in those Discourses, as being a good Comment upon this Chapter, and those Times. In his second Petition to *Constantius*, *Hilary* compares the Persecution of the *Arians* against the *Catholicks* with that of the *Pagans* against the *Christians*. *The Bishops* (says he) are *imprison'd*, and the *People* oblig'd to serve as their *Guard*; the *holy Bodies* of the *Virgins* of *Jesus Christ* are expos'd to the *View* and *Abuses* of all the *World*; *Men* are compell'd, I do not say to be *Christians*, but *Arians*; the *Name* and *Authority* of the *Emperor* is abus'd; *He* is impos'd on by *Surprise*; *Judges* are procur'd only to set a *Gloss* upon these *Barbarities*; and in short the *People* are forc'd to submit to their *Sentence*. But in his last Petition (tho' commonly plac'd the first) he uses such a *Confessorian Paraphrasis*, as in other Circumstances might be accounted Excess of *Passion*, and may well remind us of that Saying of *Solomon*, *Surely Oppression maketh a wise Man mad*. For addressing himself to *Constantius*, "I tell you (says he) what I wou'd have told *Nero*, "what *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* shou'd have heard from my "Mouth; you fight against *God*, you barbarously worry his "Church, you persecute the *Saints*, you abominate the *Preachers* "of *Jesus Christ*, you utterly abolish his Religion; in a word, you "are a *Tyrant*. I speak not with reference to the *Things* of this "World, but with respect to the *Things* of *God*. This is com- "mon to you with the *Pagan Emperors*; let us now come to "that which is peculiar to your self; You feign your self a *Chris- tian*, and you are the *Enemy* of *Jesus Christ*; you are become "Antichrist, and have begun his *Work* already; you take upon "you to procure new *Creeds*, and live like a *Heathen*; you give "Bishopricks to those of your own *Party*, you take 'em from the "Good, and bestow 'em upon the Bad; you put the *Bishops* in "Prison; you keep your *Armies* in the *Field* to terrify the *Church*; "you call *Councils* to establish *Iniquity*; you compel the *Western* "Bishops to renounce the *Faith*, that they may embrace *Error*; "you shut them up in a *City* to weaken them by *Famine*, to kill "them with the *Rigour* of the *Winter*, and to corrupt them by "your *Dissimulation*; you foment the *Dissentions* of the *East* by "your *Artifices*; and to complete all (says he) the *Church* ne- "ver suffer'd so much under *Nero*, under *Decius*, and *Maximianus*,

and when the Evil Spirit had brought under its Dominion the Prime Ministers of State also, it never left off till it had intoxicated the Brains of the People, and brought all into Confusion; no difference then between Private and Publick, Prophane and Sacred, nor any Respect for Truth or Vertue; but from the Advantage of the Court, as from a Rising Ground, the superior Heresy batter'd down all at pleasure. Then Wives were ravish'd, Widows unveil'd, Virgins prophan'd, Monasteries demolish'd, the Priests sequester'd, the ¹ Deacons beaten like Slaves, the Bishops banish'd; the Work-houses, Prisons, Mines, all cramm'd with the Faithful; the greatest part of which were at length thrust out, and interdicted the Cities, and so forc'd to wander about in Deserts, in Caves, amongst wild Beasts and Rocks, till with Hunger, Thirst, and Nakedness, they were all by degrees wasted, worn out, and consumed. And from whence all this Train of Misery, but from introducing Human Inventions for Divine Truths? From attempting to

" as it has done under *Constantius*, who has outdone all those Tyrants in Cruelty; because the former gave a World of Martyrs to the Church, who overcame Devils; whereas *Constantius* makes an infinite number of Hypocrites, who cannot so much as comfort themselves by saying, They were overcome by the Violence of Torments.

⁹ *Verberati Levite.*] *Ministers* and *Levites* are Names we find among the Ancients frequently given to Deacons; Thus *Jerome*, Ep. 27. *Episcopi, &c Sacerdotum inferioris Gradus, ac Levitarum innumerabilis multitudo.* And so again, Tom. 4. de Sept. Ordin. Eccl. *Levitæ compoquent mensam Domini; Levitæ, Sacerdotibus cum Sacra-menta benedicunt, assistunt; Levitæ ante Sacerdotes orant, &c.* And in the Councils we frequently find the Deacons distinguish'd by the Title of *Levites*. *Vid. Con. Tiron. can. 2.*

sap the excellent Foundations of Antiquity, to make way for the Wickedness of modern Whim-sies ; from violating the Institutions of our Ancestors, from rescinding the Ordinances of the Fathers, and cancelling the settled Doctrine of the Ancients ; in a word, whence all our Misery, but from an evil Spirit of Curiosity, a restless Passion after Novelties in Religion, and such a Madness for *Free Thinking*, as will not be restrain'd within any Boundaries of Faith, tho' most carefully set out by the wisest and holiest Men in the first and purest Ages of Christianity ?

C H A P. VII.

The Doctrine of the Primitive Church farther vindicated from St. Ambrose.

Here perhaps all that I have said, may be charg'd upon an Aversion to the *Moderns*, and a blind Devotion to the *Ancients* ; who-ever judges so, if he will not take my Word, I hope, at least, he will vouchsafe to credit the blessed *Ambrose*, who, deploring the Misera-bleness of the Times upon occasion of this Heresy, delivers himself in these Words, in his * second Book to the Emperor *Gratian*. But now, O God Almighty, after so many Misfor-tunes, after the loss of so much Blood, 'tis to be

* Cap. 4. p. 63. Edit. Basil. per Coslerium.

The Commonitory

hoped that thy Divine Vengeance is sufficiently appeas'd for the Slaughter of thy Confessors, the Banishment of thy Priests, and for the horrid Impiety of Arianism. Thou hast made it clear as the Noon-day, that the Adulterators of thy Faith shall not triumph long in Security.

And thus again in the third ^s Book of the same Work, *Let us be sure to observe the Precepts of our Forefathers, nor let us rashly presume to violate the Hereditary Doctrine consign'd to us.*

Revel. c. 5. For the Prophetick Book which was seal'd, neither Elders, nor Powers, nor Angels, nor Archangels durst open; Christ alone had the Prerogative to open the Book, and loose the Seals thereof. And which of us shall dare to loosen the Seals of the Sacerdotal Book, sign'd by the Confessors, and seal'd with the Blood of so many sacred Martyrs? Those who by Compulsion were wrought upon to deny the Faith, when they discover'd how they had been deceiv'd, condemn'd themselves for so doing, and sign'd it again. Those who cou'd not be prevail'd upon to subscribe to the Heresy, were the

^s Cap. 7.

^t *Quem qui resignare coacti sunt, postea tamen damnata fraude signarunt.* By the Sacerdotal Book here mention'd, I understand the Holy Scripture, the sacred Depositum of our High Priest Christ Jesus, committed by the Apostles to the Charge of their Successors: By unsealing that Book, I understand offering Violence to the Articles of Faith therein contain'd, and confirm'd, sign'd and seal'd as it were by the Blood and Sufferings of so many Martyrs and Confessors. By the Compulsion and Fraud here mention'd, which prevail'd on some to unseal the Book, which they afterwards repented of, and seal'd again, that is, profess'd the Faith which by Trick and Violence they were wrought upon to deny; by this I take to be meant the Practices at Ariminum, and what S. Hilary refers to, when he tells Constantius of his shutting up the Bishops in a City to weaken them by Famine, and kill them with the Rigor of the Winter; of which more hereafter.

Martyrs

Martyrs and Confessors. And with what Fore-head can we celebrate these victorious Sufferers, whose Faith we renounce? For celebrate 'em indeed we do, O venerable *Ambrose*, and perfectly admire the Hero's we commend ; and who indeed is so insensible, as not to feel an Emulation glowing in his Breast to follow such brave Leaders, tho' he finds himself unable to keep pace with their Virtues ? Leaders, I say, whom no Violence cou'd drive away from the Defence of the Faith of their Ancestors ; neither Menaces, nor Caresses, nor Life, nor Death, nor Court, nor Guards, nor Emperor, nor Empire, nor Men, nor Devils. Leaders, I say again, to whom, for their Fidelity to the Old Religion, the Lord reserv'd the Glory of repairing the Breaches of his Church, of reviving the People spiritually dead to the true Faith, of placing again upon the Heads of the Bishops the Miters that were ravish'd from them ; of washing out the Books, I will not say, but the Blots of this impious Novelty in a Fountain of faithful Tears, which the good Bishops shed by the gracious Influence of Heaven. To conclude, let us follow those Leaders that had the Honour to be Instruments of God in saving the whole World almost from splitting upon Heresy, and making Shipwrack of the Faith ; that restor'd *Christendom* from Novel Heresy to Ancient Truth, from Modern Frenzy to the Primitive Soundness, and from the present powerful Darkness to the pure original Light.

C H A P. VIII.

*The Care of the Fathers about the Faith
of the Church Catholick.*

BUT in this divine Harmony of ^v Confessions amongst the Ancients, this is well worthy our Observation, that it was never the way of old to be engag'd for Parties, but in defence only of the Church ^w Universal.

Nor

^v Or *Confessors*, for 'tis read both *Confessorum*, & *Confessionum*.

^w *Illud etiam est nobis vel maximè considerandum, quod tunc apud ipsam Ecclesiae vetustatem, non Partis alicujus, sed Universitatis ab iis est suscepta Defensio.*] The Bishop with his Clergy, and the People under his District make a particular Church, according to Ignatius. *Vid. Ep. ad Smyrn. Sect. 8.* Where having asserted nothing to be valid which is done in the Church without the Bishop's Consent, he adds, ὅπε ἀν φανῆ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ Πλῆθος ἐστι; ὃπερ ὅπε ἡ Χειρὸς Ἰνσῆς, ἐκεῖ οὐ Καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. Which words together with the Context make it evident, I think, beyond dispute, that the *Martyr* concluded, that a *particular Church* cou'd be no more without its *particular Bishop*, than the *Church Catholick* cou'd be without its *Catholick*, or universal *Bishop*, *Christ Jesus*. This likewise is farther confirm'd by another Primitive Bishop and *Martyr*, the holy *Cyprian*, who thus declares, *Et illi sunt Ecclesia, Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & Pastori suo Grex adhærens; unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo, & si qui cum Episcopo non sit, in Ecclesia non esse.* Ep. 69. The People united to the Bishop, the Flock adhæring to the Pastor, they are the *Church*. For which reason you ought to know, that the *Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop*; and who so is not with his *Bishop*, is not in the *Church*. Now if a Bishop with his proper Flock constitute a particular Church, then a Collection of all such particular Churches must make up the whole universal Catholick Church, of which Christ only is the Head. But this it seems will not go down with those, who will have none go by the Name of *Catholicks*, but themselves: For by the *Catholick Church*, they understand all the particular Churches in the World united under one *visible Supreme Head*, and that *Head*

Nor was it becoming those venerable Fathers to spend large Volumes in confuting the erroneous and Self-contradictory Opinions of one or two Men; or to interest themselves in the rash Faction of some petty Province, but faithfully adhering to the Decrees and Canons of all the

to be the Bishop of *Rome* for the time being. Here then I shall ask only three Questions; First, That if *Ignatius* had known any thing of this Supreme Head, this Universal Bishop, whether 'tis possible to believe, that he wou'd have charg'd the *Smyrneans* to obey their own Bishop, as *Jesus Christ* obey'd the Father, without one Tittle of a *Salvo* to the Bishop of *Rome*? Secondly, How St. *Cyprian* could say, *Episcopatus unus, cuius a singulis, in solidum, Pars tenetur. De Unit. Eccles. There is one Episcopate, of which, part is committed to every Bishop in full*; if it was committed in full only to the *Pope of Rome*? And Thirdly, with reference to the Text before us, how could *Vincentius* propose it here to our especial Consideration, that these noble *Confessors* of old never stood up in defence of the Doctrine of any particular Church or Party, but in defence only of the Faith of the ancient universal Church? How, I say, could he propose the practice of these Christian Worthies to our Imitation in the like Case? how could he continually adjure us to keep close to *Antiquity*, and the Decrees of the *First general Councils*, had he in the least dreamt that the particular Church of *Rome* had Authority to double the Articles of Faith, and add twelve new ones to the *Nicene Creed*, and make 'em as necessary to Salvation as all the rest? I thought it proper here once for all to state the true ancient Notion of the *Catholick Church*, because 'tis a word so often occurs in this Treatise, and because when it does, the *French Translator de Frontignieres* is sometimes pleas'd to slide in his *l'Eglise Infallible*, by which you are to understand, forsooth, the Church of *Rome*. For if you consult his *Remarques les plus Curieuses*, as he calls them, and which I think as remarkable *Bagatelles* and *Chicanrie* as you shall commonly meet with, you will find as loud and piercing Cries and Invitations to make what Sail we can for the *Port of Rome*, as if we were all just a sinking into the *Bottomless Pit*; and all this too under the Shadow of *Vincentius*, as if he had wrote on purpose in Vindication of the present Church of *Rome*. No wonder then the Fathers are privileg'd to go abroad under the Custody of such *Translations*, and such *Remarks*. For *Vincentius* in the Hands of Mr. *de Frontignieres*, seems just to me like a Prisoner going abroad with a *Messenger* at his Tail, who will be sure to spoil his speaking any dangerous Truth.

holy

holy Bishops of the Church, as the Heirs of the Apostolick Catholick Truth, they chose rather to sacrifice themselves, than the ancient universal Creed deposited in their Hands.

From hence they arriv'd to the immortal Honour of being plac'd, not only amongst the Order of Confessors, but also amongst the Heads and * Princes of Christian Sufferers, and this too most deservedly. This noble Example therefore of the Primitive Saints, an Example truly divine, ought be perpetually meditated upon and cultivated by every good Catholick Christian; they ought to be look'd upon as the *Candlestick with its seven Branches* shining with the Sevenfold Light of the holy

* *Ut non solum Confessores, verum etiam Confessorum Principes jure meritoq[ue] habeantur.]* The Apostles and first Preachers of the Gospel were called *Martyrs* during their Life, *A&T. I. 8, 22.* But *Martyr* was a Title afterwards more peculiarly appropriated to such as suffer'd Death for the Testimony of the Gospel. Thus it is said in Scripture, *when the Blood of thy Martyr Stephen was shed, A&T. 22. 20.* And as there were two kinds of *Martyrs*, such who actually witness'd a good Conscience unto Death; and such who must have perish'd without a Miracle, as *Ananias, Azarius, and Misael*, whom Athanasius calls *Martyrs*. *Vid. Synops. Sacr. Script. and Orat. 3. contr. Arian.* And as St. John the Apostle is called a *Martyr* by the Ancients for his being plung'd into boylng Oyl, and that having no Power over him, was afterwards sent into Banishment: So also were there two kinds of *Confessors*, such as suffer'd Tortures and extreme Hardships, tho' not unto Death; and these were sometimes dignify'd with the Title of *Martyrs*, which is what I suppose our Author means by his *Principes Confessorum*. *Vid. Cypr. Ep. 9. ad Martyr. & Confess.* And others there were, who tho' not question'd by Torture, yet confess'd the Doctrine of their crucify'd Master in despight of the severest Menaces, and were prepar'd to suffer to the utmost Extremity for their Religion; and these likewise were called *Confessors*. Those who were not try'd in this manner, but in times of Persecution were not ashame'd of Christ, but stood firm to their Profession, were called *Stantes*; and those who sunk in the Day of Temptation, were called *Lapsi*.

Spirit,

Spirit, and transmitting to Posterity a most Illustrious Rule how to silence for the future the loud and empty Pretences of Heresie in all its Progress, namely, *To quash the Insolence of the new Pretenders by the Authority of sacred Antiquity.*

C H A P. IX.

The ancient Touchstone of trying Heresies.

NOR was this any new Test, it being the constant Maxim of the Church, *That the better Christian a Man was, the more averse always was he to novel Inventions.* Every Thing is full fraught with Precedents for the Truth of this Observation; but for fear of being tedious, I shall select one Instance only, and that especially from an ^yApostolick See, by which

^{* Unum aliquid, &c hoc ab Apostolica potissimum sede sumemus.]} Churches were called *Apostolick*, upon these two Accounts; from their Apostolick Founders, and from their Apostolick Doctrine. For thus *Tertullian, prescript. cap. 36. Run over the Apostolick Churches, wherein the very Chairs of the Apostles are yet sate upon their Places. Is Achaia near thee? there thou hast Corinth; if thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi, thou hast Thessalonica; if thou canst go into Asia, there thou hast Ephesus; if thou be adjacent to Italy, thou hast Rome, whose Authority is near at hand to us (in Africk.)* From which Passage the Reader cannot but take notice, how *Tertullian* puts all these *Apostolical* Churches upon the level, and directs us only to consult that Church which lay nearest to us; which certainly he would never have done, had he known the Church of *Rome* to be more infallible than all the rest. The other Reason why Churches are called *Apostolick*, is from their Conformity to the Doctrine of the Apostles. *For to this Test* (says the same Author again, *prescript. c. 32.*) *we bring all those Churches,*

which the World may plainly perceive with what Zeal, Application, and Courage, the blessed Successors of the holy Apostles contend-ed for the Preservation of the Faith in the same Fulness of Perfection in which it was de-liver'd unto them. For heretofore ² *Agrippinus* of

which have been founded, and every day are founded, tho' not by Apostles or Apostolick Men, (being later, and but newly constituted) yet conspiring in the same Faith, and because of their Conformity in Doctrine, are to be accounted every whit as Apostolick, as the very First Churches planted by the Apostles.

² *Agrippinus Carthaginensis Episcopus, primus omnium — rebaptizandum esse censebat.*] Of this *Agrippinus* we have little left in Antiquity, all that I know of him, is in the Epistles of *Cyprian* to *Jubaianus* and *Quintus*; in that *ad Juba.* the words are these, *Apud nos autem non nova aut repentina res est, ut baptizandos censemus eos qui ab Hereticis ad Ecclesiam veniunt, quando multi jam anni sunt, & longaetas, ex quo sub Agrippino bona memoria viro convenientes in unum Episcopi plurimi hoc statuerint, &c.* Now the Synod here mention'd, was according to *Baronius* in the Year 217. towards the Beginning of the Third Century, says *Du Pin.* And indeed the *multi anni* and *longaetas* in *Cyprian* seem to speak it earlier than *Baronius* puts it. That Hereticks were to be rebaptiz'd was the Doctrine of *Tertullian*, *Vid. de Bapt. c. 15. de Pud. c. 12. Praescr. c. 12.* and of others too; for by the 47th Canon of those which go under the Title of *Apostolical*, the Admission of Hereticks into the Church without Baptism is forbid, under Pain of Deposition. And tho' these Canons were not made by the Apostles themselves, yet has the learned Bishop *Beveridge*, in his Preface to his Annotations upon them prov'd, those of them which are genuine (of which this undoubtedly is one) to have been made by *Apostolick* Men towards the Conclusion of the second, and upon the Entrance of the third Century. But now the Difficulty will be to know how *Vincentius* could justly charge *Agrippinus* as the *First Innovator* in this Point, against all the ancient Practice and Rules of the Primitive Church. Let us consider then what kind of Hereticks those were that might not be admitted into the Church without Rebaptization; and they were such as *Tertullian* says had *omnia extranea & adversaria nostra Religioni.* *Praescr. c. 12.* And again, *Quibus non idem est ac nobis Deus, nec unus Christus.* *De Bapt. c. 15.* Such as had nothing of Christianity belonging to 'em; who had neither the same God, nor one and the same Christ. And such were the *Hermogeneans, Praxeans, Valentinians, Marcionites, &c.* who, as *Irenaeus* tells

of venerable Memory, and Bishop of *Carthage*, was the first Man who against Canon of Scripture, against the receiv'd Rule of the universal Church, against the Sentiments of all his Colleagues, against the Practice and Institutions of the ancient Fathers, deliver'd his Judgement for the necessity of Rebaptization, which Presumption of his was the Mother of a World of Mischief; for it not only gave the Hereticks

tells us, were baptiz'd in the Name of the *unknown Father*, and made use of strange horrid Names in their Form of Baptism, such as *Bazæpia*, *Xaxoasñ*, *Baaavoḡ*, *μισαδία γραδά*, *κυσά*, *βελαρός*, &c. *Iren.* l. i. c. 18. Of such Hereticks as these it is, that *Tertullian* says, *nemo ab eo illuminatur a quo contenebratur. Praefr.* c. 12. By which Illumination I understand Baptism. And again, *Ideoq; nec Baptismus unus, quia non idem, quem cum rite non habeant, sine dubio non habent. De Bapt.* c. 15. Since they are not rightly Baptiz'd with one and the same Baptism as we are, they have undoubtedly no Christian Baptism at all. Other Hereticks there were who had been rightly baptiz'd, but afterwards Apostatiz'd from the Church, and these upon Repentance were receiv'd again with Imposition of Hands only. For, says *Tertullian*, *Semel ergo Lavacrum inimus, delicta diluuntur, quia iterari non oportet. De pudicit.* c. 16. This I take to have been the constant Doctrine of the Church, which was at length confirm'd by the Eighth Canon of the First Council of *Nice*, which admits of both the Baptism and Ordination of the *Novatians*, and readmitted them by Imposition of Hands only; but the *Paulianists*, or *Samosatenians*, who baptiz'd not in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are commanded *ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι δὲ πανταὶ*, to be rebaptized entirely over again. *Vid. Can. 19. Conc. Nican. una cum Beveregii Annotationibus.* And therefore I take it to be a Mistake in the learned *Valesius*, when he affirms it to have been the ancient Practice of the Church to admit both Kinds of Hereticks by Imposition of Hands only. *Vid. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. p. 142.* *Vicentius* therefore, I presume, cannot mean that *Agrippinus* was the First Innovator against all the known Rules and constant Practice of the Primitive Church, because he was for rebaptizing such as had not been baptiz'd in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (for this we find establish'd by the Council of *Nice*, now mention'd) but because he was for rebaptizing all such as had been baptiz'd by any Hereticks or Schismaticks whatever. But of this I have more to say, when I come to his Character of *Cyprian*.

a Prece-

a Precedent for their sacrilegious Rebaptization of the Orthodox, but prov'd also an Occasion of stumbling to some Catholicks. When therefore they all began to remonstrate from every Quarter against the Novelty of the Thing, and all the Bishops every where oppos'd it to the utmost of their Power, then Pope ^a Stephen

of

^a *Papa Stephanus Apostolica Sedis Antistes, cum ceteris quidem Collegis, &c.*] As we have already seen, that *Apostolick See* was not a Title appropriate to the Church of *Rome*, so neither was that of *Pope* proper to the Bishop of *Rome* only, but an Appellative common to all Bishops. For St. *Jerom* writing to St. *Austin*, inscribes *To the most Honourable Pope*. And yet St. *Austin* was Bishop only of little *Hippo*. *Vid. Hieron. in omnib. Epist. ad Aug.* And whoever has a mind to see more Inscriptions of this kind to other Bishops, may be plentifully furnish'd from the Learned *Forbes*, in his *Instrukt. Hist. Theolog. lib. 16. c. 1. p. 707.* The Word *Papa* or *Pappas*, both among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, signifies a *Father*, it being the Name with which little Children first begin to address their Natural Parents; and from thence was translated to Bishops, as being our Spiritual Parents. Two Passages more there are in this Paragraph, which may seem to require Reconciliation; for first Pope *Stephen* is here put upon the Level with other Bishops, *Papa Stephanus cum ceteris quidem Collegis suis*. And yet our Author says, he thought himself oblig'd to signalize his *Zeal* as much above the other Bishops, as he exceeded them in Authority of Place, *quantum loci auctoritate superat*. This Authority of Place then is to be inquir'd into. Bishops originally were co-ordinate, as the Apostles were, and consequently independent in their several Districts, tho' they afterwards subjected themselves to a Metropolitan of their own chusing, for the better Regulation of the Catholick Body; for which Reason St. *Cyprian* tells Pope *Stephen*, that he left every Bishop to the full Government of his own Diocese, *Salvo inter Collegam Pacis ac Concordiae Vinculo*; that he offer'd not to impose any Thing upon the Bishops he call'd to the Council of *Carthage*, by way of Authority over them, nor did any one presume to constitute himself a *Bishop of Bishops*; *Neq; enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcorum constituit. Epist. 72.* And whoever observes the Freedom *Firmilian* took with the Pope upon this Occasion, and how *Cyprian* tax'd him with *Pride* and *Obstinacy*, and for a *Defender of the Cause of Hereticks*, and that too against Christians, and the very Church of God, *Epist. ad Pomp. 74.* may believe any Thing, if he can believe that they took the Pope for such a Man,

of blessed Memory, Bishop of the Apostolick See of Rome, with the rest of his Colleagues, withstood it likewise; but he, in a signal manner above

as the Papists take him for now a days. 'Tis true indeed, as our Author observes, that *Stephen* did signalize his Zeal in this Cause, or more truly his Passion; and was more than even with 'em in hard Words, and harder Usage; for he forbade the Christians of his Church so much as to receive and lodge their Deputies, and depriv'd them not only of Communion in his own Church, but of the common Civilities of Hospitality; and return'd an Answer loaded with unchristian Severities, but with little Success; for St. *Cyprian* never alter'd his Opinion to his dying Day, and the Greek Churches were for a long time after divided upon this Question. *Cyprian* and *Stephen* were shining Lights, they were both zealous Bishops, and both Martyrs; but they were both but Men, and distinguish'd their Frailities on this Occasion: If Pope *Stephen*, as many then thought, had the better of the Argument, (of which more anon) yet Pope *Cyprian* had much the best of him in Point of Charity, and sacrific'd all his Resentments to the Unity of the Church. As to the *Auctoritas Loci*, here mention'd, certain it is, that *Jerusalem* was the first Mother-Church. *Vid. Hieron. Com. in Ij. 2. Theodoret. Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 9.* The Church of *Rome* then cou'd challenge no Authority upon this Account; and upon what this Authority was founded, is as clear as the Day from two Canons of two General Councils; for by the third Canon of Constantinople, it is decreed, that the *Bishop of that See* shou'd have the Precedence next to the *Bishop of Rome*, forasmuch as Constantinople is New Rome. Afterwards by the 28th Canon of Chalcedon, it was advanc'd to an Equality with *Rome*; and the Ground of this Advancement expressly mention'd in the Canon, is this, That *Constantinople* being now the Imperial Seat, and honour'd with a Senate, they judg'd it reasonable, that the Church shou'd bear some Proportion to the Dignity of the Civil State; and therefore that the *Bishop of Constantinople* shou'd enjoy the same Privileges with the *Bishop of Rome*. And when upon this, *John of Constantinople* took the Advantage to set up for the Primacy, and the Title of Universal Bishop; 'tis well known how *Gregory the Great*, then Bishop of *Rome*, loudly remonstrated, and told him, That his *See* in former Councils had always the Precedence, yet none of the Bishops of *Rome*, his Predecessors, ever offer'd to assume to themselves that arrogant Title of Universal Bishop: For, *Si unus Episcopus vocatur Universalis, Universa Ecclesia corruit, si unus Universus cadet. Greg. Epist. lib. 4. Ep. 32, 33, 34, &c.* From hence then the Reader may observe, that these two Things must necessarily follow; First, That in the Judgment of the General Councils now mention'd,

above the rest, concluding, as I imagine, that he who stood so distinguish'd for the Eminence of his See, shou'd shew as distinguishing a Zeal in Defence of the Faith. Accordingly at that Time, in his Epistle to the Bishops of Africa, he thus determines, *To keep that which was committed to their Trust, and to innovate in^b nothing.* For that holy and prudent Person look'd upon it as a Ruled Case in Matters of Religion, to admit of no other Doctrine, but what was believ'd by the Fathers; and that we ought to transmit the same to Posterity, with the same Fidelity it was deliver'd to us: *and that it is our Duty to follow Religion, and not to make Religion follow us;* and that the proper Characte-ristick of a modest and sober Christian, is this, *Not to impose his own Conceits upon Posterity, but to make his Imaginations bend to the Wisdom of his Ancestors.* What then was the Issue of this grand Affair? what, I say, but the old and usual one? *viz. Antiquity keeps Possession, and Novelty is rejected with Contempt.*

tion'd, the Pope of *Rome* had his Precedence and Privileges from the *Fathers*, and nor from the *Apostles*; and Secondly, That they were granted him upon the account of the Greatness of his City, and not as *St. Peter's Successor*; both which utterly destroy the present Papacy, and clearly demonstrate what our *Vincentius* means by his *Auctoritate Locis*.

^b *Nihil Novandum, &c.*] The Epistle here mention'd is not extant, that I know of; but we have a Fragment of it in *Cyprian, Ep. 74.* which I shall quickly have an occasion to cite.

C H A P. X.

The great Attempts made for Rebaptization, and the Ground of their Unsuccessfulness.

BUT perhaps it will be objected, *That this new-born Opinion dy'd in its Infancy merely for want of Patronage.* No such Matter, so far from that, that no Cause was ever maintain'd with greater force of Wit, or greater flow of Eloquence, or greater multitude of Patrons, or greater semblance of Truth, or with such seeming Authorities from Scripture; but Scripture abus'd and interpreted after a new Fashion; insomuch that it seem'd impossible to get the better of an Error so mightily befriended: However, tho' thus caress'd, prais'd, and patronis'd, yet the Novelty of the Thing alone prov'd sufficient to destroy the whole Contrivance. In fine, what was the Success of

the

^c *Postremò ipsius Africani Concilii quæ Vires? donante Deo, Nullæ.]* The African Council here spoken of, consisting of so many, and such able Heads in Defence of Rebaptization, was the Synod of Carthage, held under St. Cyprian in the Year 256, according to Du Pin, but according to Bishop Beveridge in 258. There were Eighty seven Bishops in the Council, which open'd with the reading of the Letters of *Jubaianus* to *Cyprian*, and with those of *Cyprian* to him. After which, St. Cyprian propos'd it to all the Bishops to deliver their Opinions freely; but yet, not so as to condemn others, who were of a different Judgment in this Matter; forasmuch as none here presum'd to make himself a *Bishop of Bishops*; because in such Cases every Bishop in his own Diocese is to do as he thinks best, and was to give account to Christ only, by whose

the *African Council*? Why, by God's help, it
came to nothing; but all their Resolutions
came

Authority alone he was set over the Church. After which Propo-
sal the Bishops gave their Opinions freely, and all unanimously
concluded in favour of *Cyprian*. But the Difficulty here will be,
how *Vincentius* is to be understood, when he affirms this Decree of
the *African Council* to have been utterly abolish'd, and come to an
end like a Tale that is told. *Baronius ad an. Christi* 259, from the
Epistle of *Dionysius* to Pope *Stephen*, concludes, that the Oriental
Bishops quitted their Opinion for Rebaptization, and from *Cyprian*
went over to *Stephen*. And the learned *Forbesius* concludes the like
of *Firmilianus*, and the *Asiatick* Bishops from the same Epistle,
vid. Forbes. Instruc. Hist. Theolog. lib. 10. cap. 2. sect. 6. And *File-
sachus*, in his Notes on *Vincentius*, concludes the same likewise. But
this, (says *Valesius*) upon due Consideration, will evidently appear
quite otherwise. For that Epistle of *Dionysius* contains two Heads;
one, whether Hereticks were to be Rebaptiz'd; the other, con-
cerning the Unanimity and Concord of the Eastern Churches in
condemning the *Novatian Heresy*, and ordering the *Lapsi* to be re-
ceiv'd. To this last Sentence it is, that *Dionysius* tells *Stephen* that
Demetrianus Bishop of *Antioch*, and the other Bishops, had una-
nimously subscrib'd; which he knew wou'd be welcome News to
the Pope, because *Fabius* the Predecessor of *Demetrianus* was in-
clinable to the *Novatian Heresy*, and endeavour'd to establish it by
a Council of Bishops from *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*.
Vid. Vales. Annot. in lib. 7. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. cap. 5. The same *Va-
lesius*, in his Annotationis upon the same Chapter, *Sect. ult.* affirms,
that the Oriental Bishops, and those especially in *Cappadocia*, con-
stantly retain'd the Custom of Rebaptizing Hereticks, and continu'd
the Practice of it down to the General Council of *Constantinople*.
But this, in my Opinion, is liable to great Objections; for the
Council of *Nice*, in the Year 325, ordain'd, that the *Novatian Her-
eticks*, both Clergy and Laity, shou'd be receiv'd into the Church
by Imposition of Hands only; but that the *Paulianists* should be
Rebaptiz'd, because they were not Baptiz'd in the Name of the
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and therefore 'tis not probable that
the Eastern Bishops shou'd continue Rebaptizing contrary to this
Canon down to the Council of *Constantinople*, in the Year 382; and
why they shou'd leave it off then, is not easy to tell; for the Ca-
nons of *Nice* are confirm'd by the first Canon of *Constantinople*; and
for the seventh, tho' by Chrism or Unction only it admits *Arians*,
Macedonians, *Apollinarists*, *Novatians*, &c. yet the *Eunomians*,
Montanists, *Sabellians*, &c. are expressly excluded by this Canon,
and for the same reason as the *Paulianists* in that of *Nice*, and were
to be receiv'd no otherwise than as meer *Pagans*. And after all,
this

came to an end, like a Tale that is told, they all pass'd for senceless Dreams, and were all can-

this Canon by our learned Bishop Beverege is prov'd to be spurious, and to be an Epistle only from Constantinople to Martyrius Bishop of Antioch, and written 80 Years after this Council. *Vid. Bevereg. Annot. in Can. 7. Conc. Constant.* There is a Passage in *Jerom* which seems to make, as if the very Bishops themselves, who establish'd this Doctrine of Rebaptization in Council, did afterwards void it; *Deniq; illi ipsi Episcopi qui Rebaptizandos hæreticos cum eo (Cypriano) statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revoluti, novum emisere decre- tum.* *Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer.* But *Baluzius*, in his Notes upon *Vincentius*, observes, that there is not the least Appearance of any such new Decree extant, and that the Practice of Rebaptizing upon St. Cyprian's Authority, down to the Time of *Vincentius*, is an unanswerable Objection against it. He concludes therefore, that this Error gradually decreas'd, and dropp'd by the Consent of the Catholick Church, and at length was universally excluded, *robustissimâ firmitate Consensionis*, according to St. *Austin*, *lib. 3. de bapt. adv. Donat. cap.* And he says likewise in the next Pages 437, 438, that the Doctrine of Rebaptization was condemn'd by common Consent; *In quo secuta est Ecclesia Sententiam Papa Stephani.* I shall here then first set this Matter in a better Light, and in the next Chapter prove against *Baluzius*, That the Doctrine of Pope Stephen was as much condemn'd by the Catholick Church, as that of St. Cyprian. The Cyprianick Error, I say then, did not only wear away by degrees, but the Question was argu'd, and expressly determin'd by several Councils. First by the Council of Arles, some years before that of Nice; for there by the 8th Canon it is ordain'd concerning the Africans, That if any one leave a Heresy, and return to the Church, he shall be ask'd concerning the Creed; and if it be known that he was baptiz'd in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Imposition of Hands only shall be given him, that he may receive the Holy Spirit; but if he does not acknowledge the Trinity, he shall be Rebaptiz'd. To this Council it is, Mr. *Dupin* thinks, that St. *Austin* refers the Decision of this Question; but I am not of his Mind; because St. *Austin*, I believe, wou'd hardly call the Determination of *Arles*, *Plenarii Conciliij Autoritatem*, *lib. 2. de bapt. adv. Don. cap. 9.* And therefore I referr it to the first *Nicene* Council, which determin'd this Question likewise, tho' *Dupin*, in his Account of *Cyprian*, will not allow it; but the 19th Canon of *Nice*, as explain'd by Bishop *Beverege*, evidently proves the contrary. And lastly, this Question was decided also by the Council of *Carthage*, under *Gratus* Bishop of that City, in the year 348. For the first Thing there propos'd, was, whether that Man ought to be Rebaptis'd, who at his Bap-

cancell'd, abolish'd, and trampled on, as useless insignificant Trifles.

C H A P. XI.

The Method us'd by Hereticks to make their Errors pass current in the World.

O Strange Turn of Things ! The Authors of the same Opinion are declar'd *Catholicks*, and the Followers of that Opinion adjudg'd *Hereticks*. The ^d Masters are acquitted,

tism made Profession of believing the Trinity ? To which the Bishops answer'd ; God forbid : *We declare, that this Rebaptization is unlawful, contrary to the Orthodox Faith, and the Ecclesiastical Discipline.* This then I take to be a clear and sufficient Account of the *African Council under Cyprian*, how it was abolish'd by the Authority of three several Councils , and at length dwindled to nothing, according to our Author's Description of it.

^d *Abolvuntur Magistri, condemnantur Discipuli, &c.]* To make good our Author's Acquittal of the *African Council*, and the Condemnation of their Disciples, the *Donatists*, for the same Error ; it will be needful to observe only, that the *Cyprianick Party*, tho' they warmly defended their Error, yet they temper'd their Zeal with such a Spirit of Humility and Submission, as never to impose it upon others as an Article of Church-Communion ; or to make the least Separation from the Catholick Body upon the account of this Difference of Opinon : Whereas the *Donatists*, who boasted St. *Cyprian's* Authority for their Practice of Rebaptization, made a long and terrible Schism in the Church ; and not only Rebaptiz'd *Hetericks*, but even *Catholicks* themselves. For which reason St. *Austin* declares, *That to Rebaptize Hereticks, was a human Error ; but to Rebaptize Catholicks, (as the Donatists did, and our Anabaptists do) was a most diabolical Presumption*, lib. de unico Bapt. c. 121.

But because this is a Matter of Moment, and has been extremely controverted of old, and is so at present, I hope it will be a pardonable Digression, if I state the Opinions of Pope *Stephen*, and St. *Cyprian*, more distinctly ; and shew that they were both in the Extreme,

ted, and the Disciples condemn'd. The Writers of the Books shall be Sons of the Kingdom, and the Defenders of those Books have their Portion

Extreme, and both equally condemn'd by the Primitive Church. Secondly, I shall consider how St. Austin moderated between them, and what Objections his Doctrine seems liable unto, and so leave it to the Judgment of the Reader. The Summ of the two Opinions then of *Stephen*, and *Cyprian*, we have in his 74th Epistle to *Pompey*; *Si quis ergo à quācunq; Haresi venerit, dyc.* If any one comes over to us, from whatsoever Heresy it be, (says Pope *Stephen*) let him be receiv'd into the Church without Rebaptization, by Imposition of Hands only. That this was the Doctrine of *Stephen*, we are farther confirm'd by St. *Austin*, *de unico bapt.* c. 14. where he tells us, That according to *Stephen*, no one whoever was to be Rebaptiz'd; *in nullo iterandum Baptisma*. All those Canons therefore before mention'd, which command those Hereticks to be Rebaptiz'd, which were not Baptiz'd in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, do certainly condemn the Doctrine of Pope *Stephen*, which orders *none to be Rebaptiz'd*. St. *Cyprian*, on the other Extreme, asserts, that all those who have been baptiz'd by *any Hereticks or Schismaticks whatever*, ought to be Rebaptiz'd: For in his 75th Epistle to *Magnus*, who ask'd his Opinion about the Baptism of the *Novatians*, whether they ought to be excepted out of the number of those Hereticks who were to be Rebaptiz'd, since they own'd the same Faith, as the Catholicks did, with respect to the Trinity, and Baptiz'd after the same manner; he tells him, that they ought to be Rebaptiz'd as well as the rest, forasmuch as there was no true Baptism out of the Church. St. *Basil*, who seems most inclin'd to the Doctrine of *Cyprian*, and his Predecessor *Firmilian*, thus argues; Those whom a *Laick* Baptizeth, are to be Rebaptiz'd; but those whom a Heretick or Schismatick Baptizeth, a *Laick* Baptizeth; therefore such are to be Rebaptiz'd. But finding, that tho' the major Proposition was not deny'd, yet the minor, *That a Heretick or Schismatick was a meer Laick*, stood condemn'd by the Nicene Council, he submitted to the Authority; *Ἐσω δεκτὸν. Let it be receiv'd. Bas. Canon. Epist. ad Amphilioc. Can. 1.* Nay, after the Council of Nice, the major Proposition, viz. *That those whom a Laick Baptizeth, are to be Rebaptiz'd*, was look'd upon to be so true, that it was the undoubted Principle whereby the Orthodox confuted the *Luciferians*; for thus they argu'd; those whom a *Laick* Baptizeth, are to be Rebaptiz'd; but those whom an *Arian* Priest Baptizeth, are not to be Rebaptiz'd; therefore an *Arian* Priest is not a *Laick*; which Argument so confounded *Hilary the Deacon*, that he was forc'd to deny the Assumption,

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Portion in Hell. For who can be extravagant enough to question, whether the most blessed *Cyprian*, one of the most eminent Saints, Bishops

ption, which his Master *Lucifer* had granted ; which Assumption *Jerome* confirms by the Authority of the Nicene Council. *Hieron.* *dial. adv. Lucif.* St. *Chrysostome* is express for the Invalidity of Lay-Baptism ; and that in Cases of Necessity it can be no more administer'd by a *Laick*, than the Eucharist ; *τάνα δέ ταῦτα δι*
ἐτέρος μὲν θεοῦ, μόνον δέ θεος τὸ ἀγίων ἐνεῖναι σπελεῖ *Χειρῶν*, *τὸ τοῦ Ἱερών τέσσαρας λέσσων*. *Chrys. l. 3. de Sacerd. c. 5.* But all these are Things, which can be administer'd by no other Man living, but by those sacred Hands alone, the Hands, I say, of the Priest. St. *Austin's Arguments against St. Cyprian*, I take to be good, and the Summ of them is this : St. *Cyprian* argu'd, that to give the Holy Ghost, one must have it ; but Heretical or Schismatrical Priests have not the Holy Ghost, therefore they cannot give it, and consequently their Baptism is of no Effect. To which St. *Austin* replies, to give the Holy Ghost, one must have it ; but conceal'd Hereticks and wicked Priests have it not, and therefore cannot give it : But if the Baptism of these is valid, for the same reason must the Baptism of the other be valid also. But St. *Austin* goes farther, and approves Lay Baptism in Cases of Necessity : But now, if there be no such Cases of Necessity, which is the main Principle he argues upon, then this Argument falls to the Ground. Circumcision then was the same to the *Israelites*, as Baptism is to Christians ; but the Child that dy'd Uncircumcis'd, was not look'd upon as damn'd ; and therefore when *David's Child* by *Bath-Sheba* lay sick, and dy'd on the seventh Day, we don't find that either *David* presum'd in this dangerous Case to have it Circumcis'd before the appointed Day, or that he lamented it for dying Uncircumcis'd ; and this is the very Topick from whence St. *Ambrose* took occasion to assert the Salvation of *Valentinian Junior*, who dy'd before Baptism. *Vid. Ambr. Concion. in Obit. Valent.* If then Circumcision was the same of old, as Baptism is now ; and if the Ministers who shall Baptize, are as much appointed by Christ, as the eighth Day was appointed by God for Circumcision, then there can be no more Necessity now for Baptizing without such appointed Ministers, than there was for Circumcising before the appointed Day ; for 'tis no where said, that he who dyes Unbaptiz'd is damn'd : But that there are Persons appointed by Christ to Baptize, I shall prove presently. St. *Austin* goes a great deal farther yet, and stands up for the Validity of Lay-Baptism, even in Cases of no Necessity ; and the Papists allow of Baptism not only by Women, but even by Jews and Pagans. *Vid. Florent. Conc. An. Dom. 1439.* The Father then, lib. *adv. Ep. Parmen. cap. 13.* thus argues, *Sed et si nulla necessitate usurpetur,*

shops and Martyrs, one of the brightest Stars of Christendom, together with his other Colleagues, shall reign with Christ for ever? Or who, on the other hand, can be so sacrilegiously bold, as to affirm, that the *Donatists*, and other Pests of Christianity, who boast the Authority of that Council for Rebaptizing the Orthodox, shall not be burnt with the Devil in Fire everlasting. For truly I look upon it as the just Judgment of God, upon such Deceivers especially, who, when their Brains are at work to trim up a Heresy, and set it off under the Patronage of another Name, do gene-

surpetur, & à quolibet cuilibet detur, quod datum fuerit non potest dici non datum, quamvis rectè dici possit illicite datum. But supposeing a *Man shou'd usurp, when there is no Necessity; and that Baptism shou'd be given by any one to any one; that which is given, cannot be said to be not given, tho' it may justly be said to be given unlawfully.* To which I answer, That which is given, no doubt is given; but the Sacrament of *Baptism* is not given by a *Laick*, but only the *Washing*, and the external Rites; as if a *Laick* shou'd presume to *Ordain*, or Consecrate the *Eucharist* with the same Rites, as the Priest does, he cannot be said to give true *Orders*, or a true *Sacrament*. The Case then, in short, I take to be this; Christ has determin'd as expressly who shall *Baptize*, as who shall Preach his Word, or administer his other Sacrament; for thus the Commission runs, *Go ye therefore, and disciple all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Whatever then is done against a Law which is to be perpetual, and admits of no Dispensation, that is to be look'd on as not done; but this is such a Law wherein God has appropriated the Office of *Baptizing* to the Apostles, and those they shall ordain, therefore whatever is done against this Law, is to be look'd upon as not done at all, and consequently *Lay-Baptism* is invalid; for 'tis a known Rule, that that which is given by one who has no Right to give, is not given at all. And this I take to be now the Sence of the Church of *England* by the Rubricks, as well as by the Questions she orders to be ask'd in the Case of Private *Baptism*, *By whom was this Child Baptiz'd?* *With what Matter was this Child Baptiz'd?* *With what Words was this Child Baptiz'd?* Where the Person by whom the Child was *Baptiz'd*, seems to be thought necessary, as well as the *Matter* and the *Form of Words*.

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rally catch at the most perplex'd Passages of some ancient Writer, which, by reason of their Obscurity, may seem to look favourably upon the Error ; that by this Fetch, be the *Dogma* what it will, they may not seem to be the first and only Broachers of it. This I take to be a detestable piece of Iniquity, upon these two Accounts ; First, That they make no Conscience of tempting others to pledge them in their Poison of Heresy ; Secondly, Because they will not suffer the Memory of an old Saint to be at rest, but disturb the Ashes of the Dead, and with their prophane Tongues revive those Frailties which ought to lye for ever buried in Silence : True Sons of their Father *Cham*, who not only wou'd not be at the pains of throwing a Veil over the Nakedness of his venerable Parent *Noah*, but must needs expose it also to the Mockery of others : For which unnatural Impiety, he entail'd a Curse upon himself, and his Posterity ; but blessed were his Brothers, Men of quite different Dispositions, who wou'd neither defile their own Eyes with their reverend Father's Nakedness, nor make his Shame a Spectacle to others , but as it is written,

Gen. 9. 23. *went backward, and cover'd him.* A plain Instance, that they neither approv'd the Error of this holy Man, much less the exposing it to the Contempt of others ; and for this a Blessing descended upon them, and upon their whole Generation. But to return to my Purpose.

C H A P. XII.

The Danger of having itching Ears after new Teachers, and the Necessity of adhering to sound Doctrine.

Alterations in Faith, and Innovations in Religion, are peculiar, and of all things the most to be dreaded; for not only the Constitutions of the Church, but a Censure also of Apostolick Authority, read us a terrible Lecture against Attempts of this Nature. All the World sees with what Force, Severity, and Vehemence the blessed Apostle St. Paul inveighs against Ep. Gal.c. some Men, who with marvellous Levity had ^{1. v. 2, 3.} been so soon remov'd from him that call'd them by the Grace of Christ to another Gospel, which is not another. Who, after their own Lusts had ^{2 Tim. 4, 3,} heap'd to themselves Teachers, and turn'd away ^{4.} their Ears from the Faith, and were turn'd unto Fables; having Damnation, because they had cast ^{1 Tim. 5, 12.} off their first Faith, being deluded by those Teachers, mention'd by the same Apostle in his Epistle to the Brethren of Rome. Now, I Rom. 16. beseech you, Brethren, mark them which cause ^{17.} Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learn'd, and avoid them; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own Belly; and by good Words and fair Speeches deceive the hearts of the simple: Who creep into Houses, and lead captive silly Women ^{2 Tim. 3, 6,} laden with Sins, ever learning, and never able ^{7.}

*to come to the knowledge of the Truth : Vain
 Tit. 1. 10, Talkers, and Deceivers, who subvert whole Hou-
 11. ses, teaching things which they ought not, for
 2 Tim. 3. 8. filthy Lucre's sake : Men of corrupt Minds, re-
 1 Tim. 6. 4, probate concerning the Faith : Proud, knowing
 5. nothing, but doting about Questions, and Strifes
 of Words, who are destitute of the Truth, suppo-
 1 Tim. 5. sing that Gain is Godliness : And withal they
 13. learn to be idle, and not only idle, but Tatlers
 also and Busy-bodies, speaking things which they
 1 Tim. 1. ought not : Who having put away a good Consci-
 19. ence, concerning Faith have made Shipwreck :
 2 Tim. 2. Whose profane and vain Bablings increase unto
 16. more Ungodliness, and their Word eateth as doth
 a Canker. But to our Comfort 'tis written like-
 2 Tim. 3. 9. wise, that they shall proceed no farther ; for their
 * Jannes and Jam-
 bes. Folly shall be manifest unto all Men, as * theirs
 also was.*

When therefore some such Merchants as
 these, who stroll'd about Town and Countrey
 vending their false Doctrines, came and held
 forth among the Galatians, and the People up-
 on hearing these new Teachers, so nauseated
 the Truth, the Apostolick Catholick Doctrine,
 that they keck'd at the Heavenly Manna, and
 nothing wou'd go down but these filthy Hereti-
 cal Novelties, then the Apostle, upon this
 Occasion, exercis'd his Authority, and with all
 the Severity imaginable thus decreed, That
 Gal. 1. 8. tho' we, or an Angel from Heaven preach any other
 Gospel unto you, than that which we have preach'd
 unto you, let him be accursed. But what is the
 drift of the Apostle, in saying, Tho' we ; why
 not as well, Tho' I ? Why, this is much more
 full

full and comprehensive ; and as if he shou'd have said, *Tho' Peter, tho' Andrew, tho' John, tho' the whole College of Apostles, shou'd preach any other Gospel, let them be accursed.* A very tremendous *Anathema !* wherein he neither spares himself, nor his Fellow-Apostles, the better to establish us in the Primitive Faith. And as if this had been too little, he adds, *Tho' an Angel from Heaven preaches any other Gospel, let him be accursed.* For fear a Curse upon Man only shou'd prove an insufficient Sanction for the Security of the Faith once deliver'd, he rises higher, and pronounces the like *Anathema* against the Angelick Order also, *Tho' we, or an Angel (says he) from Heaven, &c.* Not that the Apostle thought it possible for those holy and heavenly Spirits to sin now any more ; but his meaning is, that if that shou'd happen, which never can happen, whoever he is, that attempts any Alterations in the Original Faith, *let him be accursed.*

C H A P. XIII.

An Answer to some Objections against this Anathema of the Apostle.

BUT here, perhaps, some may say, that St. Paul might overshoot himself a little in haste, and, in decreeing this *Anathema*, follow rather his own Impulse, than the Directions of the Divine Spirit. God preserve us from such

such a Thought ! for the Apostle pursues it as a Matter of such grand Importance, that he inculcates it over and over again with all the *Force of repeated Assverations*, *As we said before, so say I now again, if any Man preach any other Gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed.* 'Tis not here said, *If any Man preach any other Gospel unto you, than that ye have receiv'd, let him be blessed, applauded, and entertained amongst you ; but let him be Anathema, that is separated, turn'd out and cut off from the Communion of the Church ;* for fear the damnable Contagion of one Sheep should spread it self through the Flock of Christ, and infect the Faithful. But 'twill be objected perhaps, that this Canon respected the *Galatians* only, and does not extend it self to us in these times. But for the same reason those other Rules in the conclusion of this Epistle may be said to respect the *Galatians* only ; namely such

Gal. 5. 25, as these, *If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit, let us not be desirous of vain Glory, provoking one another, envying one another, &c.* But now if it be absurd to understand these Texts with Restriction, and if they are equally binding to all Mankind, then is it evident, that as these Rules about Christian Morality, so those Provisions made for the Christian Faith, are both alike obligatory and comprehensive.

C H A P. XIV.

The foregoing Argument farther illustrated.

AS mutual Provocations and Envyings will never be lawful to any Christians at any time, so will it always be full as unlawful to admit of any Doctrine as an Article of Faith, but what has universally been held as such in the Catholick Church. But perhaps this *Anathema* of the Apostle against the *Preachers of any other Gospel*, may be look upon as Temporary and peculiar to that Age only, but as now to be cancell'd and of no Obligation. But for the same reason this other Command, *I say then, walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the Lust of the Flesh*, must be Temporary also, and not of universal Obligation to all Christians at all times. But now, if it be extremely impious, and no less dangerous to believe thus, then does it necessarily follow, that as these Rules about Practice are eternally binding, so those other against innovating in the Faith do in like manner oblige for ever. *To preach there-*

* *Adnunciare ergo aliquid Christianis Catholicis præter id quod acciperunt, &c.] To propose any thing to Christian Catholicks besides what they have receiv'd, never was, never is, and never will be lawful; and to Anathematize such as declare any thing, but what they have receiv'd, ever was, ever is, and ever will be a Duty.* This indeed is a great Truth, and had been an excellent Motto, worthy to have been inscrib'd in Letters of Gold, and plac'd before the Trent-Council for the Rule of their Proceedings; who made an Oath not to receive or expound Scripture but according to the uniform

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therefore to Christian Catholicks any other Doctrine than what they have receiv'd, never was, never is, and never will be lawful. And to Anatematize

form Consent of the ancient Fathers. And yet Baronius who had taken his Oath, forgets himself and tells us, *That the most holy Fathers, whom for their profound Learning we call the Doctors of the Church, the Catholick, that is, the Roman Church, does not always, and in every thing follow in the Interpretation of Scrip.* Baron. Annal. Eccles. An. 34. n. 213. p. 238. *Colon.* But they can, it seems, go off occasionally from their Oath, and the Fathers too, when it may serve a Turn. And are not these rare Folks to cry out upon Innovation, and to shoot out their Anathemas against the Protestant World, and from the Quiver of *Vincentius*, when *Bellarmin* in direct Opposition to the Catholick Maxim before us, without mincing the matter shall plainly declare, *That the Church of latter Time bath Power, not only to declare and explain, but even to constitute and command what shall belong to the Faith?* *Bellar. Tract. de potest. Sum. Pontif.* If then the latter Church, that is, the Church of Rome hath Power to *Constitute and Command* more Doctrines to be believ'd as necessary to Salvation, than were believ'd by the Primitive Church, then has it Power to make new Creeds every Day, and that to be a necessary Article now, which fifteen hundred Years ago and upwards, was never dreamt off. And if so, methinks they might spare their Complements upon the Fathers, and our Author in particular, who writes this whole Book only to prove, that *Antiquity, Universality, and Consent*, is the Rule we ought to go by in the Interpretation of Scripture, which he affirms to be the *Perfect Canon of Faith and Manners*, against the express Doctrine of that Church. The Maxim here laid down, is a Conclusion directly drawn from several Texts of Scripture; the Chief of which, and what he has thought fit to explain and inculcate over and over again is this, *But though we, or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other Gospel to you, παρό, besides what we have preached to you, let him be accursed.* *Vincentius* by his *preterquam quod evangelizavimus*, seems to expound these words in the same Sence with St. Chrysostom, and St. Austin; *καὶ εἰπεῖ, εἰδὼν εὐαγγελισθέας αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηκέν τι εὐαγγελίζοντα παρός εὐαγγελισθεῖα.* He saith not, if they preach things contrary, but if they preach things never so little different from the Gospel which we have preached to you. See also St. Austin, contra lit. Petil. cap. 6. p. 167. But supposing with some Romish Expositors we should understand by *παρό*, not something besides, but something contrary to what the Apostle preached, I can't see how it mends the matter. For certain

matize the Setters forth of strange Articles, ever was, ever is, and ever will be a Duty. Since this is the Case, who will be so hardy as to break in upon the Creed of the Church, or so exceeding moderate and occasional as to admit of such Innovation? That chosen Vessel cries out, that Doctor of the Gentiles, that Trumpet of the Apostles, that Herald of the World cries out; he that was caught up into the Third Heaven, and was made conscious of things unutterable,^f cries out again and again in all his Epistles, *Whoever preaches a new Doctrine let him be accursed.* On the other side, the Frogs and the Gnats, and the Insects but of a Day, such as the Pelagians, remonstrate back again, to the Catholicks too, on this wise,

certain it is, that a Man may err damnably, not only by rejecting a fundamental Article, but by pressing Things unnecessary to be believ'd, as necessary to Salvation. And this I take to be the very Case here before us; for the Teachers against whom St. Paul pronounces this *Anathema*, are such as join'd the Observation of the Law, as necessary to the Faith of the Gospel. And by this they taught that what the Apostle preach'd as necessary to Salvation, was not necessary without their Additions; which is the very Thing we charge upon the *Papists*, for their new Articles of *Trent*, and their *Traditionary Doctrines*. For if these are necessary to Salvation, (as they swear they are) and yet are not contain'd in *Scripture*, then *Scripture* is not sufficient to Salvation; and then St. Paul's *Anathema* cannot be just and true, tho' twice together averr'd by him with all the Solemnity imaginable. Here then with *Vincentius* we fix and set our Feet, and with him declare, *That to Preach up any thing to Christian Catholicks, as Matter of Faith, besides what they have receiv'd, never was, never is, and never will be lawful;* and to *Anathematize* such as declare any thing as necessary, besides what they have receiv'd, ever was, ever is, and ever will be a Duty.

^f *Clamat, &c; repetendo clamat, &c.]* I translate according to this Reading of *Baluzius*, and not by the *Cambridge Edition*, which reads *clamet*.

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they remonstrate and cry, *Upon our Example, our Authority, and the Faith of our Expositors, condemn what you once believ'd, and believe what you once condemn'd; lay aside the ancient Faith, the Institutions of your Fathers, the Depositum of your Ancestors, and receive*—What, I tro! must we receive? Why, even what I tremble to mention; for their Notions favour so much of Pride and Self-sufficiency, that in my Opinion not only the maintaining of them, but even the touching upon them in order to refute them is in some measure criminal.

C H A P. XV.

Why very great Men are very often permitted by God to introduce strange Doctrines into his Church.

BUT here it is natural to enquire, *Why such & considerable Persons in the Church are so*

* *Cur ergo persæpe divinitus sinuntur, &c.*] Tertullian begins his Prescription against Hereticks upon the like Topick, and bids the Faithful be no more concern'd at the Cause and Effects of Heresies than of Fevers; for both must be, and both do Mischief; and this too by the Permission of God for wise and good Ends. And in the third Chapter puts the Question; *Quid ergo si Episcopus, &c. What then if a Bishop, if a Deacon, if a Widow, if a Virgin, if a Doctor of our Laws, nay, if a Martyr, should fall from the Rule of Faith? Would that give a Sanction to Heresie? Are we to try the Faith by the Man, or the Man by his Faith?* The Reasons whv God permits such great Men to fall, and to be a stumbling Blck in the way of others, are to be seen at large in that Prescription, and succinctly, and solidly treated in this and the following Chapters.

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often by divine Providence suffer'd to set forth such strange Doctrines amongst the Catholicks? A very proper Enquiry in good earnest, and well worthy of a nice and full Examination. And in answer to this, I shall build nothing upon my own private Reasoning, but upon the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Instructions of an inspir'd Governour of the Church. Let us hear therefore the holy Moses, and he may teach us, why knowing Men, and such as for their Gift of Knowledge the Apostle styles Prophets, are sometimes permitted to broach new Opinions, which by way of Figure the Old Testament usually calls *strange Gods*, because Hereticks do Idolize their *strange Doctrines* just as the Gentiles do their *strange Gods*. The blessed Moses therefore thus writes in *Deuteronomy*,^h If there arise among you a Prophet, Chap. 13. 1.

Prophet,

^h If there arise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign or Wonder, and the Sign or Wonder come to pass, whereof he speake unto thee, saying, let us go after other Gods, and serve them; Thou shalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet or Dreamer of Dreams, for the Lord your God proverth you, &c.] Our Author having consider'd only the *Ratio Finalis*, or the end for which God permits Miracles to be done by *False Prophets*, for the fuller Explication of this Text, I shall inquire into their efficient Cause, and see how far forth Miracles are a Proof of a true Prophet. In order to this, I distinguish between two kinds of Miracles or *Supernatural Effects*. First, Such Effects as plainly appear to be above the Power of any natural Causes here among us, which therefore we call *Supernatural*. Yet such, however, as thro' the divine Permission are practicable by the ordinary and natural Power of invisible created Spirits. For Instance, the Suspension of a Stone in the Air, the drawing a founder'd Ship by a Womans Girdle, the dividing a Whetstone by a Razor at a word speaking, the telling what is doing a thousand Miles off, &c. These, I say, seem to be above the Reach of human Power, and not feasible by any natural Causes amongst us, and yet may be within the proper Agency of invisible Spirits. There is another sort of Miracles which are above the Power of natural Causes, and

Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, that is, a Teacher in the Church, and such a one too as in the Opinion of his Disciples and Followers teaches

of any created Beings whatever, and to be effected by the immediate Power of God only. Of the first sort of *Miracles*, or *supernatural Effects*, this in the Text I take to be one; for I cannot suppose that God himself would lend out his own immediate Omnipotence to evil *Spirits* to enable a *false Prophet* to work *Miracles* on purpose to seduce his People into Idolatry; but only, that he would not forcibly interpose to hinder such *Spirits* from doing what was within their Sphere or natural Efficiency; because he had before given his People such severe and express Laws against the Worship of *strange Gods*, upon the Account of any *Miracles* whatever; and permitted *false Prophets* to work *Signs* and *Wonders* as a *Trial* only of their Fidelity to him; and if the *Jews* could have certainly, and at first sight, distinguish'd between the *Operations* of *Demons*, and the *Effects* of pure *Omnipotence*, this had been no *Temptation*, nor any proper *Trial* of their Obedience. I conclude therefore, that *supernatural Effects*, at least of the first Kind (and it is extreme difficult, if not impossible in some Cases to distinguish these from the *Miracles* of the second Kind) are not in themselves a sufficient Proof of a *true Prophet*. For should a Man do never so many *Signs* and *Wonders* to tempt the *Jews* to Idolatry, he was forthwith to be condemned to Death for a *false Prophet*. We are told likewise in the *Gospel*, that *false Prophets* and *false Christs* should arise and shew great *Signs* and *Wonders*, insomuch, that if it were possible they should deceive the very *Elect*; and that the Coming of the *Man of Sin* should be after the working of *Satan* with all Power and *Signs*, καὶ τέρατα Ψεύσεται not with *lying Wonders*, *Fictitious* or *Counterfeit Miracles*, as our *Translation* seems to intimate; but true real *supernatural Wonders*, wrought in Confirmation of a Lie. For if they were *Tricks*, and *Appearances* only, how could the Coming of *Antichrist* be said to be according to the working of *Satan* εἰς τὸν δυνάμενον, with all Power. But as *Moses* did of old, so does *Christ* give his Disciples a Rule to go by, and to try the *Spirits*, and forearm'd them against the powerful Temptation; See to it, lest any *Man* deceive you, *Matth.* 24. 4. So again, *Mar. 13. 23.* See to it, behold I have foretold you all things. Should therefore a *Popish Priest* by addressing to an *Image*, or by the help of a *Relick*, do any real *supernatural Signs* and *Wonders* to tempt me to the Worship of *Images* or *Relicks*, I am to reject him as a *false Prophet*, or *Dreamer of Dreams*, because I have a Command before, which saith, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve. But now the *Miracles* of *Christ* were as much out of the

of Vincentius Lirinensis.

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the Power of created Spirits, as we can possibly imagin any things to be, yet had they been *supernatural Effects* of the first Kind only, our Saviour coming in the *Name* of God, and doing such a number of Miracles in his *Name*, and for the Confirmation of a Doctrine exactly agreeable to the positive Revelations of God, and the best Reason of Mankind; our Saviour, I say, ought to have been receiv'd by the *Jews* for a true *Prophet* according to *Moses*, who in the 13 and 18 Chapters of *Deuteronomy* plainly supposeth, that God would not permit a *false Prophet* to work *Signs* and *Wonders*, but in the Case of *Idolatry*, or such Particulars as were evidently against the Light of Nature, because then they would have been an invincible Temptation in the way of good Men. So that unless a *Prophet* shall come in the *Name* of God, and do Miracles in his *Name*, and for the Confirmation of Doctrines every way suitable to the Nature of God and right Reason, such Miracles are no Proof of a divine Mission.

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the Power of created Spirits, as we can possibly imagin any things to be, yet had they been supernatural Effects of the first Kind only, our Saviour coming in the Name of God, and doing such a number of Miracles in his Name, and for the Confirmation of a Doctrine exactly agreeable to the positive Revelations of God, and the best Reason of Mankind; our Saviour, I say, ought to have been receiv'd by the Jews for a true Prophet according to *Moses*; who in the 13 and 18 Chapters of *Deuteronomy* plainly supposeth, that God would not permit a false Prophet to work Signs and Wonders, but in the Case of *Idolatry*, or such Particulars as were evidently against the Light of Nature, because then they would have been an invincible Temptation in the way of good Men. So that unless a Prophet shall come in the Name of God, and do Miracles in his Name, and for the Confirmation of Doctrines every way suitable to the Nature of God and right Reason, such Miracles are no Proof of a divine Mission.

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World,

Donatus, Photinus, Apollinaris, and the rest of that Stamp. Well, and what then? *And if this Prophet shall say unto thee, let us go after other Gods which thou hast not known, and let us serve them.* But what, I pray, are these other Gods, but strange Errors? which thou hast not known, that is, new and unheard of; and let us serve them, that is, let us believe and follow them. Well, and what's the Conclusion? Why, *Thou shalt not hearken unto the Words of that Prophet, or that Dreamer of Dreams.* But why then, I beseech you, does God permit the Preaching of that, which he will not have follow'd? Because, says Moses, *the Lord your God prooveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your Heart and with all your Soul.* Here then you clearly see for what Reason the divine Providence sometimes permits some celebrated Doctors of the Church to preach up strange Doctrines; it is, faith Moses, *that the Lord your God may prove you.* And a great and powerful Proof without doubt it is, when he, whom you look upon as a Prophet, or a Disciple of Prophets, or a Doctor, and zealous Stickler for the Truth; when he,

World, and not to the Will of Man. He deny'd the Resurrection of the Flesh, and affirm'd the Soul and Spirit only to be saved by Christ. *Vid. Aug. Heret. 11.* The *Valentinians*, says *Irenæus*, call themselves, *the Spiritual*; and the *Orthodox*, *Psychicos, the animal Men*; that these *Animals* know not the *Truth*, and for that reason must be beholden to *Faith and good Works* for their Salvation; but for themselves, they stand in need of no such Things, because they are naturally *Spiritual*, and cannot lose their *Spirituality*; and therefore tho' Sin may damn the *Churchmen*, yet it can not hurt the *Saints*. *Iren. lib. 1. adv. Valent.*

I say,

I say, whom you exceedingly revere and love, privily drops his baneful Errors, and so slyly mixes 'em with Truth, that whilst you are blinded with the Authority of the Deceiver, you cannot presently perceive the Deceit; and 'tis very hard to condemn the Doctrine, when you admire the Doctor.

C H A P. XVI.

This Rule of Moses exemplify'd from some very considerable Tempters in the Church of Christ.

BUT here perhaps some may be desirous of seeing these words of holy *Moses* confirm'd and illustrated with some Instances from *Ecclesiasticks*; the Desire is not unreasonable, and therefore shall not stay long without Satisfaction. And to avoid all obscure and far-fetch'd Examples, I shall begin with that glaring Instance of Temptation *Nestorius*; for when that unhappy Person, changing of a sudden from

Sheep

* *Cum infelix ille Nestorius, &c.*] To illustrate the foregoing Rule of *Moses*, our Author has singled out three eminent Temptations of the like kind; the first of which is *Nestorius*, who was an infamous Heretick, stigmatiz'd by all the Writers of that Age, condemn'd by a General Council, abandon'd by his best Friends, depos'd and banish'd from place to place, and then was never recall'd, but dy'd a harden'd, unpitied Heretick; and if *Evagrius* is to be credited, had his Tongue eaten up with Worms, as a Punishment of the Blasphemies it uttered. However, the unhappy *Nestorius*,

Sheep to Wolf, began to worry the Flock of Christ, the Temptation was almost invincible, because the greatest Part even of those that were

The Scandal of Christendom in his own Age, has been happier in this, and has met with some Pity and Moderation in these Times of Mercy. For it seems to be insinuated by a very learned Prelate, That the making of Two Persons in Christ was only fastened on him as a Consequence, and that Nestorius was misunderstood and hardly used. It has indeed been thought from some unwary Expressions and Similitudes common to both, that his Lordship had no Aversion to Nestorianism; but far be any such Thought from me, because he has asserted the contrary in express Terms; it would be as hard to charge him with Consequences, as he seems to think it in the Case of Nestorius. But it is to be wish'd, that his Lordship had dropt some Reasons with his gentle Insinuation, as if Nestorius had been misunderstood and hardly used. For tho' I will not presume to censure his Tenderness for this reputed Heretick, or any one else, yet his Lordship's Integrity and Learning are so well known, that they are enough almost to endanger the Credit of a General Council, and of all the Historians of that Age. But I am still to have some Charity for the Wisdom and Honesty of the Representatives of the Universal Church, and to think that Nestorius was neither misunderstood nor hardly used, till I see some Reasons for the Insinuation. The Character of the Man, his Heresie, and Condemnation, are all set forth by Vincentius; and he writing but three Years after the Ephesine Council that condemn'd him, may be look'd upon as a very credible Writer. His Character is the thing I am chiefly concern'd in at present; and because Socrates, a grave and judicious Historian of the same Age, has describ'd him likewise with all the Protestations of Impartiality imaginable, I shall set down his Discription in short as the best Comment upon our Author. Upon the Death of Sisinnius, Archbishop of Constantinople, Philip and Proclus, two Presbyters of that City, made two powerful Factions to succeed him, but the Emperor Theodosius jun. to give a Check to such ambitious Practices, resolv'd that none of the Clergy of that City should have the Government of that Church, and so sent for the Stranger Nestorius from Antioch, and invested him in the See of Constantinople three Months after the Vacancy. He was a Person much cry'd up, and by very many, for his Temperance; but as to his other Qualities, he gave early Symptoms of a distemper'd Mind, and the wiser Physicians soon felt his Pulse, and foresaw what was to be expected from a Man, who in his first Sermon could address the Emperor on this wise, O King, give me out a Land purg'd from Hereticks, and I in return will give you Heaven;

were worried, took him all this while for a Sheep, and so took little or no care to keep out of his Clutches. For who could easily suspect

Heaven ; Do you but join with me in the Extirpation of Hereticks, and I will do as much for you against the Persians. This, says *Socrates*, took mightily with the Mob, who hated the Name of *Heretick*, but the more prudent Party took it as an Earnest of his Vanity, Pride, and Fierceness, and were in amaze that a Stranger before he had well tasted the *Water of the City*, should proclaim War from the Pulpit against all such as were not of his Opinion, and he was soon as bad as his Word ; for in five Days after his Consecration, he attempted to demolish the *Arian* Conventicle, and forc'd 'em in despair to burn it, from whence he had the Name of *Incendiary*. He miserably harrassed the *Novatians*, and barbarously persecuted the *Quartodecimans* of *Asia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and caus'd many Murthers at *Miletus* and *Sardis*. *Vid. Socr. Hist. Eccles. lib. 7. c. 29.* He persecuted likewise the *Macedonians*, and persuaded the Emperor to take away all their Churches, and could no more live without Contention, than a Drunkard without Wine. But it came home to him at last, and the Persecutor was serv'd in his own kind, says the same *Historian*, cap. 31. And in the following Chapter, for my part (*says Socrates*) upon reading the Books of *Nestorius*, I found him to be an ignorant Person ; and without Prejudice or Affection, as I have publish'd his Vices, so I will not detract from his Virtues, but give you his just Character. I look upon *Nestorius* neither as a *Paulianist* or a *Photinian*, nor to have asserted our Lord to be altogether a meer Man ; but he was frighted at the word Θεογένης, or *Mother of God*, as at a Bugbear, and this Fright was the Effect of his egregious Ignorance ; for being naturally a Man of many Words, and great Fluency, he mistook himself for a Person of Depth and Learning, whereas in truth he was a very shallow and illiterate Person. The Books of the Primitive Interpreters he would not vouchsafe the Reading ; and he was so extremely smitten and elated with his own Eloquence, that he look'd upon himself as preferable to all before him ; and yet so great a Stranger to Scripture was he, as not to know that in the Catholick Epistle of St. John it was written in the ancient Copies, ὅτι πᾶν μυστήριον, οὐ λόγος ἐν Ιησῷ, ἀλλὰ οὐδεὶς. which according to *Valesius's Translation* and *Conjecture* in his Notes, is to be English'd thus, *Every Spirit that divides Jesus from God, is not of God.* This Text the Interpreters of old observ'd to have been corrupted by such as design'd to separate the *Man* from *God* ; but the Humanity is so closely united to the Divinity, that they are not Two, but One Person. Upon this Text it was, that

suspect the Heretick in a Man, whom he saw so signally advanc'd, with the Approbation of the whole Empire, and so mightily admired by the Bishops. One who had got so far into the Affections of the Faithful, and with the universal Applause of the People publickly expounded every Day the Word of God, and confuted the pernicious Errors both of Jew and Gentile? How then could such a Person fail of passing for an orthodox Teacher, a sound Preacher, and a Man of unsuspected Principles? A Man, who to open a Door for his one single Heresie, loudly inveigh'd against the Blasphemies of all other Heresies whatever.

the Ancients made no Scruple to call the Virgin Θεολόγον, or the Mother of God. That Eusebius lib. 3. de vit. Constan. expressely says that Emanuel, which is God with us, was contented to be born for us, and the place of his Nativity is by the Hebrews called Bethlehem; that Queen Helena adorn'd the sacred Cave, where the Virgin Mother of God was deliver'd, with extraordinary Monuments. That Origen fully handles this Question, why she is to be called Θεολόγος, Tom. I. Comment. in Epist. ad Rom. And therefore 'tis notoriously evident, that it must be profound Ignorance of Antiquity in Nestorius to refuse to call Mary the Mother of God. And lastly, in the 34th Chapter of the same Book, we find him thus replying in Council to those who profess'd Christ to be God; *For my part, he who was but two or three Months old, I cannot call God.* And with that threw out of the Synod, and would come at 'em no more. Now this alone to me sufficiently speaks the Size and Spirit of the Man; and to tell the Council with his own Mouth that he could not acknowledge a Child to be God, is a great deal more than something collected from his Writings, and fasten'd on him as a Consequence. And therefore I cannot but wonder, how a prating, ignorant, proud, furious, bloody Heretick, (for so Socrates calls him) condemn'd by a General Council, by all his Friends, and the best Writers of that Age, should come after all this to be so grossly misunderstood, and so gently used by a most knowing and learned Father of our own Church, to the great Scandal of the Ephesine Council. But more of this when we come to the Heresie of Nestorius, and the Proceedings of that Synod.

But

But this is the very Thing accounted for in those words of *Moses*, *The Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love him sincerely or not.* But to dwell no longer upon the Qualifications of *Nestorius*; a Person, who for his Reputation, was always more beholden to the World, than the World to him; more to Fame than to Experience; and who for some time kept up his Credit with the People, more upon the account of his human, than divine Accomplishments. To pass over him therefore, I shall go to some others of greater Proficiency, greater Industry, and consequently much greater Temptations to the Catholicks. A Temptation of this Size was that ¹ *Photinus* of the Church of *Sirmium* in *Hungary*, in the Memory of our Fore-Fathers. For after he

was

¹ *Photinus Ecclesiam Sirmitanam tentasse memoratur.*] *Photinus* Bishop of *Sirmium* was born in *Gallogracia*; he was Deacon and Disciple of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, and trod in part in his Master's Steps. *Socr.* l. 2. c. 18. *Hieron.* *Catal.* *Hilar.* *Fragm.* He had a mighty Talent at Harangue, and was extremely subtle in his Reasoning, φύσεως ἐχών εὐ λέσσεν καὶ πειθεῖν ικαρὸς, saith *Sozomen*, lib. 4. c. 6. He was turn'd by Nature for an Orator, and a mighty Man he was in the Art of Persuasion. The chief Study of *Photinus*, as well as of the other Arch-Hereticks, was, to take the People by the Ears with enticing Words, and to lead 'em from the Simplicity of the Gospel by worldly Wisdom. Upon his refusing to Sign the *Confession of Sirmium*, he was depos'd, and *Germinius* plac'd in his room; but upon condition he would recant and subscribe, the Synod proffer'd to restore him, but he rejected the Proffer; and depending upon his Parts, appeal'd to *Constantius*, and challeng'd his Opponents to a Disputation; *Basil* Bishop of *Ancyra* was the Man pitch'd upon by the Emperor to manage the Controversie, and *Notaries* appointed to take the Arguments on both sides. In the Dispute *Photinus* was baffled, and shortly after banished. He wrote Books both in *Greek* and *Latin*, being Ma-

was advanc'd to that Bishoprick with general Applause, and for some time had play'd the Part of a *Catholick*, all of a sudden, like that *Prophet or Dreamer of Dreams* in *Moses*, he began to cajole the People of God committed to his Charge to follow *strange Gods*, that is *strange Errors*, *which they had not known*. But this is the usual Trade of Hereticks. However, that which render'd him so considerable a Temptation, was, the mighty Accomplishments he had for doing Mischief. For he had a marvellous Command of Wit, set off with all the Advantages of Learning, and of a sweet and powerful Elocution; and in short, a most able Preacher he was. How fluently and solidly he could dispute and write both in *Greek* and *Latin*, is notoriously evident from the Monuments he has left in both Languages. But God be thanked, the Flock of Christ committed to his Care was upon their Guard, and kept a watchful Eye upon the Catholick Faith, and being forewarn'd, were forearm'd with the Advice of *Moses*; and tho' they were charm'd with the Eloquence of their Prophet and Pastor, yet were they not so dazl'd, as not to see thro' the Temptation; for him, whom heretofore they follow'd as the Leader of the Flock, they began afterwards to fly as the Wolf.

ster of both Languages, as *Vincentius* observes; he propos'd his own Doctrine as the only way of Truth, and wrote against all other Heresies. *Socr.* l. 2. c. 30. *Sozom.* l. 4. c. 6. He spent his Exile in writing against the Catholick Faith, and dy'd in Heresie and Banishment. *Epiiphanius. adv. Heret.* 71. What his Heresie was, and how condemn'd, will be seen in its proper place.

But

But not only from the Example of *Photinus*,
but from that of ^m *Apollinaris* also, we may
learn the great Danger of Temptations of this
kind

^m *Apollinaris*, &c.] Of the Temptations here mention'd, *Apollinaris* was incomparably the greatest. For he had vast Stores of divine and human Learning, with all the Charms of Poetry to make his way into the Affections of Priests and People. He was the Son of a Presbyter of the same Name, and so Father and Son are frequently confounded both by the *Ancients* and *Moderns*. He was born at *Laodicea*, and made Bishop of the same Place. *Vid. Athanas. Synod. Ep. ad Euseb. dy Lucifer.* p. 580. *Epiphan. Hæres.* 77. *Hieron. Catal.* tho' this by some is question'd. He was bred up under the famous *Gentile Sophist Epiphanius*; and being present one Day with his Father to hear his Master recite a Hymn in honour of *Bacchus*, and staying after the *Pagan* had order'd according to Custome the *prophane* and *uninitiated* to be gone, they were both excommunicated by *Theodotus*, Bishop of *Laodicea*, who had given them fair warning before against keeping Company with *Epiphanius*, to the great Scandal of the People; but upon their Repentance were both again receiv'd by him into Communion. However, *Georgius* an *Arian*, and Successor to *Theodotus*, laid hold of this Pretence to excommunicate 'em again, but the true Reason was, for corresponding with *Athanasius* at *Laodicea* in his Return from Banishment. When *Georgius* would be wrought upon by no Application or Entreaty whatever, *Apollinaris* forthwith sacrific'd his Faith to his Resentments, dress'd up a damnable Heresie, and rais'd violent and lasting Convulsions in the Church. *Sozom. l. 6. c. 25.* Nor is it strange that a Person so belov'd and admir'd by all the great Men of his Age, and of a Genius so prodigiously extensive, should upon his Fall prove a very powerful Temptation. For he was highly valu'd by *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, &c. *Vid. Epiphan. Hæres.* 77. *Basil. Epist.* 82. *Hieron. Epist.* 64. As to his Skill in Poetry, we are told by *Sozomen*, *lib. 5. c. 18.* that he wrote the Antiquity of the *Hebrews* down to *Saul* in heroick Verse, in Imitation of *Homer*, a Poem consisting of twenty four Parts. He wrote Comedies after the way of *Menander*, and Tragedies after the manner of *Euripides*, and Odes in imitation of *Pindar*. And in short, says the *Historian*, he took his Subjects from sacred Scripture, and in a little time compos'd as much, and as well as any of the Greek Poets, either with respect to the Fineness of Thought, the Purity of Expression, or the Beauty of Method. Insomuch, that if Men were not Idolizers of Antiquity, they would study and admire the Books of *Apollinaris*, as much as any of the *Ancients*; and the rather, because his comprehensive Genius took in all sorts of

kind in the Church of Christ; and withal see what Care and Pains are necessary for the Preservation of a sound Faith on such Occasions.

For

of Science, whereas they of old excell'd in one kind of Learning only. Besides, to make *Apollinaris* a more considerable Temptation yet, he was a Man ὃς τὸν ἐυαγγεῖλον πεπόνθει τογενεῖ πᾶντον, καὶ τὸν Ἀποστολικῶν δογμάτων δόξας καρπαζίειν, &c. *Theodoreti* l. 5. c. 3. Who putting on a Mask of Piety pass'd for an extraordinary Defender of the Apostolick Doctrines. With this Shew of Religion, and this Substance of Leatning the Heretick set out, and was join'd by *Vitalis*, a Presbyter of Antioch, according to *Sozomen*, l. 6. c. 25. (but a Lay-man as the *Alexandrian Chronicon* assures us, *ad An. Julian.* i. p. 688.) who for his Painfulness in his Calling, and the Severity of his Life, went for a sanctify'd Man of the first Rate among the People. These two set up separate Meetings in several Cities, and us'd different Rites, and different Hymns from the Catholick Churches, Hymns of *Apollinaris*'s own composing; for besides his other Learning, he was, πανδοκτῶν μέτρων εἰδίημαν, καὶ τοὺς ἐντεῦθεν ἴδυσματος τοὺς πολλὰς ἔπειτεν αὐτῷ περούχεις, Master of all the Measures in Poetry, and by the Sweetnesses of his Verse drew over the People in abundance. And you could not go to a Feast, nor see a Man at work, or a Woman at her Distaff, but you should hear 'em singing some of the Songs of *Apollinaris*. *Vid. Sozom. lib. 6. c. 25.* 'Tis testify'd also by all the Ancients, that he wrote a vast deal upon the *Gospels* and *Epistles*, and other Subjects. *Socr. l. 3. c. 16.* He wrote likewise against the *Arians*, *Eunomius*, *Origen*, and many other Hereticks; he compos'd many Homilies and Letters, and wrote against *Diodorus of Tarsus*. *Vid. Dupin's Eccles. Hist. in the Life of Apollinaris, with the Notes thereon.* Of all which, besides some few Fragments, we have nothing left that bears the Name of *Apollinaris*, but a noble Translation of the *Psalms* in Verse. But of all his Works, the Treatise here mention'd by *Vincentius*, divided into thirty Books, in defence of Religion against *Porphyry* the Philosopher, is by all the Ancients look'd upon the best, not only of this Author, but the best that was ever written upon that Subject. The learned *Dupin* mentions another great Book of *Apollinaris*, *Concerning the Truth*, against the Emperor *Julian*, and the Pagan Philosophers, and *Sozomen* likewise l. 5. c. 18 mentions a Book written by him, ὁμοίῳ ἀληθείᾳ, but whether this is not the same with the other, may be justly question'd. After all, this universal *Genius* by soaring above the Simplicity of the Gospel, and by philosophizing too much upon the Incomprehensible Mysteries of our Faith, fell into Heresie; and as *Vincentius* excellently observes, he had been one of

For this Person rais'd a mighty Combustion, and threw his Hearers into very great Perplexities; because while the Authority of the Church drew one way, and their Affections to their old Teacher pull'd back another, the People in this fluctuating Condition did not sufficiently deliberate which side they ought to follow. But here perhaps it may be said, that *Apollinaris* was no such dangerous Temptation, as being shallow and contemptible, and a Person of little Credit. But no such matter; for he was a Man of that Reputation and Ability, that almost every one was over hasty in believing him, in most things that he taught. For tell me a Man of a more piercing Wit, of greater Quickness, and more universal Learning? How many Heresies he suppress'd, and in how many Volumes, how many Anti-Christian Errors he confuted, that noblest and largest of all his Works consisting of no less than thirty Books, wherein he confounded the extravagant Calumnies of *Porphyry* with great Variety and Weight of Argument, is a sufficient Proof. It would be tedious to go over all his Works, which in good truth might have equall'd him to the greatest Pillars of the Church, had not the Itch of prophane Curiosity led him aside after his own Inventions into I know not

of the greatest *Luminaries* of the Christian Church, had not a prophane Curiosity prov'd his Ruin. He flourish'd in the beginning of *Julian's Reign*, and dy'd under that of *Theodosius*. What his Heresie was will be seen hereafter. The three Hereticks now mention'd, being the Men our *Author* has particularly dissected, and lay'd open their Doctrine for the Prevention of the like Diseases in Posterity.

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what Heretical Novelties, which, like a Le-
prosie, overspread and foul all his Writings ;
and made his Doctrine an occasion of Falling,
rather than Edification. Here perhaps it may
be expected, that I should give an Exposition
of the Heresies of the Persons above mentioned,
namely, of *Nestorius*, *Apollinaris* and *Photinus* ;
but the Work I am upon requires it not, for
my Design here is not to trace the Errors of
every particular Heretick, but to produce on-
ly some few Examples the better to illustrate
the Rule of *Moses*, that if at any time any
Doctor of the Church, and one too who him-
self passes for a Prophet, should in his Inter-
pretation of the Prophets attempt to introduce
any strange Doctrine, we should look upon
this as a Temptation permitted by divine Pro-
vidence to prove us.

C H A P. XVII.

*The Heresies of Photinus, Apollinaris,
and Nestorius.*

Howe'er it may be no useless Digression to
lay before you in short the Opinions of
the foremention'd Hereticks, I mean, of *Photinu-*
s, *Apollinaris* and *Nestorius*. And the Do-
ctrine of ^m *Photinus* is this ; he affirms that
we

^m *Photini ergo Secta hac est.] Marcellus*, in whose Steps the
Scholar *Photinus* trod in part, maintain'd, that the Word was not a
Person subsisting before he was born of the Virgin ; that the Flesh,

we ought to profess God in the Sense of the Jews to be one only, without distinction of Persons ; he denies the Plenitude of the Trinity, and admits not into the Godhead either the Person of God *the Word*, or that of the Holy Ghost. He asserts Christ to be a meer Man only, whose Original he ascribes to *Mary*; and what he mainly contends for, is, that we

and not the *Word*, was the Image of God, the Son of God, the King, the Saviour, and the Christ; and in short, that he commenc'd the Son of God at his Incarnation; that his Kingdom shou'd continue till the Day of Judgment, and then cease, and the Flesh be annihilated, and the *Prolatitious Word* be resolv'd into the Father, and be no more. In opposition to this Heresy it was, that the Council of Constantinople levell'd that Clause in their Creed, *Whose Kingdom shall have no End*. This Heresy then agrees but in part with the Description of *Vincentius*, nor is our Author's Account of the *Photinian* Error distinct and particular; and it is extremely difficult to collect from the Ancients what was proper to *Photinus*: For by some he is said to have restor'd the Heresy of *Hebion*; but there seems to be little or no Resemblance between them; for *Hebion* had more of the *Jew* than the *Christian*, and asserted Christ to have been as much begotten by *Joseph*, as born of *Mary*. Others make him to agree wholly with *Paulus Samosatenus*, and others in part only; *Socrates* and *Sozomen* make his Heresy a Composition of *Paulianism* and *Sabellianism* both; but 'tis certain he differ'd much from both, especially from *Sabellius*, being very far from a *Patriconian*. But what was peculiar to *Photinus*, will best appear from the Council of *Sirmium* that condemn'd him, and from the *Anathema's* annex'd to that Confession of Faith, according to the several Heresies then extant, tho' without any mention of their Names; of which *Anathemis*, the fifth plainly strikes at *Photinus*, and condemns, whoever affirms the Son to be of *Mary* only, according to God's Prescience or Predestination, and not begotten of the Father, and with God before all Worlds, and by whom all Things were made; but from the Time that he was born of *Mary*, was nam'd *Christ*, and Son, and enter'd upon his Divinity. But because our most learned Bishop *Pearson*, in his Exposition of the Creed says, that what did properly belong to *Photinus*, was not collected by any; and because he complains likewise that the History of his Condemnation is obscure and intricate, and has given an Account of both, I shall say no more, but refer to that excellent Treatise, p. 119, 120.

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ought to worship the Person of God the Father only, and the Man Christ : This then is the Heresy of *Photinus*. But for ^o *Apollinaris*, he makes his boast, as if he ^P entirely agreed with us in the Unity of the Trinity, yet his Faith

^o *Apollinaris vero, &c.*] *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Orat. 14.* p. 221. *Orat. 46.* p. 721. out of a Book of *Apollinaris*, lays down both the Nature of his Heresy, and the Foundation he builds on : For from those Words, *No Man hath ascended up to Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man which is in Heaven*, the Heretick inferr'd, That he was the *Son of Man* before his coming down from Heaven ; and that when he came, he brought down his Flesh along with him, to which he had been hypostatically united in Heaven before all Worlds ; That in this Sense therefore he was the *Second Man from Heaven* ; That in his Humanity he had both a Soul and Body, but that the *res*, or intellectual Part, was supply'd by the Divinity of the *Word* ; and moreover that he was mortal, and truly suffer'd in his Godhead ; and that during his three Days continuance in the State of the Dead, his Divinity was dead also with his Body, and both by the Father were restor'd to Life again : All which monstrous Extravagancies are at large refuted by *Nazianzen*, in his two Epistles to *Cledonius*, *Orat. 51.* p. 737. *Orat. 52.* p. 745. I shall now go along with *Vincentius* in his Account of this Heresy, observing only first, that to the Nicene Creed was added by the Council of Constantinople, upon occasion of the *Apollinarian Heresy*, this explanatory Clause, *And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary* : For the Nicene Creed has only, *was incarnate*.

^P *Et hoc ipsum plena Fidei Sanitate, &c.*] The Cambridge Edition, with that of *Cosletius* at *Cologn*, read thus. But the *Paris* Editions by *Filescus* and *Baluzius*, at the end of *Salvian*, read just contrary, *Non plena Fidei Sanitate*. I will not go about to determine which is the right Reading, because I can make good Sense of either. For if we take up with the Negative, 'tis agreeable to our Author's Character of this *Heretick*, who, in the Words following, calls him *Nutabundum semper & dubium* ; and *Nazianzen* describes him as a slippery inconsistent Wretch, saying one thing to his Disciples, and the quite contrary to the Catholicks. If we follow the Affirmative Reading, that, I say, suits exactly with the Character given of the *Apollinarians* by *Socrates*, lib. 2. cap. 46. *Ἐτὸν τριάδα ὁμολογοῦσι φασι. They profess the Trinity to be Consubstantial, and to differ from the Catholicks in nothing but making the Logos supply the Place of Mind.*

in this Particular is not so sound as it shou'd be ; but in the Incarnation of our Lord he manifestly blasphemes : For in the Flesh of our Saviour he maintains, that either there was no Human Soul at all, or at most such a Soul only as was void of Understanding and Reason. Besides, He affirms, that the very Flesh of our Lord was not taken from the Flesh of the holy Virgin *Mary*, but that it descended from Heaven into the Virgin ; and this Flesh, the reeling unsteady Man asserts one while to be coeternal with the God *the Word*, and another while to be made of the Divinity of the same *Word* : For he will by no means allow of two Substances in Christ, one of which was Divine, the other Human ; one begotten of the Father, the other born of his Mother ; but

⁴ Aut Animam humanam penitus non fuisse, aut certe talem fuisse, cui Mens & Ratio non esset.] This Account of *Vincentius* is much the same with that given by *Socrates* of the *Apollinarians* ; περὶ τοῦ μὲν ἔλεσον ἀναλογίων & ἀνθρώπου ψευδὸς Θεοῦ λόγου εἰ τὴ σινονομίᾳ & ἐνανθρωπίσεως, φυχῆς ἀνδρὸς ἐπειδὴς εἰ μετανοεῖται σπλιορεύματος περὶ θηλακού· λύχνῳ μὲν ἀνειλούεται· νῦν δὲ ἔχειν αὐτῷ, &c. At first indeed they said that in the Economy of the Incarnation, Man or human Nature was assum'd by the God the Word without a Soul ; but afterwards, as it were, repenting and correcting this Error, they added that he took upon him a Soul too, but a Soul without a Mind. So that, according to the *Apollinarian Philosophy*, Man consisted of three Parts, a Body, a Soul, and a Mind. According to their Divinity, the human Nature of Christ consisted of two only, the Body, and the φυχὴ or Soul, the third Part, the νοῦς, or Understanding, being supply'd by the God the Word. The difference then between the *Arian* and *Apollinarian Heresy*, is plainly this ; *Arius* taught, that Christ took nothing of Man upon him but his Flesh. *Vid. Athan. de Adv. Christi.* The Doctrine of *Apollinaris*, was, that the *Logos*, or Word, assum'd a human Body and Soul, but not the intellectual Part. *Apollinariste quidem Carnis & Anima naturam sine Mente assumpisse Deum credunt, Ariani vero Carnis tantummodo. Facundus. l. 9. cap. 3.*

pretended the Essence of the *Logos* to be divisible, as if one Part thereof continu'd in God, and the other ^x was chang'd into Flesh. So that whereas the Catholick Faith is this, that of two Substances there is one Christ, he in opposition to this Faith asserts, that purely out of the Divinity alone of Christ there were made two different Substances. This then is the Heresy of *Apollinaris*.

But *Nestorius* labours under a quite contrary Distemper; for while he seems willing to distinguish between the two Substances in Christ, he rashly introduces two Persons, and by an

^x *Aliud vero versum fuisse in Carnem.*] I have already observ'd from *Phæbadius*, that the *Arians* made the very Nature of the *Logos* to suffer in the Flesh, by confounding the Properties of the Divine and Human Nature together, in order to degrade the suffering Christ from being truly and properly the Consubstantial Son of the impassible God. *Duplicem hunc statum, non conjunctum, sed confusum uultis videri.* *Hoc ideo, ne quis illum ex eo crederet, quem Impassibilem satu constat.* *Phæbad. lib. adv. Arian. cap. 7, &c.* *Athanasius* likewise saith, *That the Arians vainly fancy'd our Saviour to take upon him our Flesh only;* $\# \# \#$ *τὸν τὸν δὲ θεόν τὸν αὐτοῦ Θεόν ταῦτα αὐτοὶ εὐλέποντες* thereby impiously inducing the Sense of suffering upon the Impassible Divinity. *Athanas. lib. de Incarn.* But that the *Apollinarians*, who profess'd the Consubstantiality of the ever blessed Trinity, shou'd make the Son suffer and dye in his Divine Nature, as we find from *Nazianzen* in the place above cited, is stranger yet; but this they did, by making, with the *Arians*, the Properties of the Divine Nature mix in Confusion with the Properties of the Human Nature. *Aliud vero versum fuisse in Carnem;* and a little before, saith *Vincentius*, *Sed ipsam Verbi naturam putabat esse discissam.* But certain it is, that he who was God of God, of the same Substance with the Father before all Worlds, cou'd not suffer in the same Divine Substance which is common to the Father and the Holy Ghost; for then must these two Divine Persons have suffer'd with him. Christ then in his Human Nature alone was capable of suffering, because the Hypostatic Union of the Divine with the Human Nature cou'd superinduce no Imperfection upon the Divinity, nor any external Acquisitions touch the Godhead in its Intrinsick and Essential Perfections.

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unheard-of Impiety holds, that there are two Sons of God, two Christs, one of which is God, the other Man ; one begotten of the Father, the other of *Mary* ; and, for this reason, he will not allow the holy *Mary* to be call'd the *Mother of God*, but only the *Mother of Christ* ;

[*Afferit Sanctam Mariam non Theotocon, sed Christotocon esse dicendam.*] The first Assertor of this, was *Anastasius* a Presbyter, and an Intimate of *Nestorius*, who came along with him from Antioch : This Presbyter, in a Sermon at Constantinople, thus magisterially ordain'd ; Θεοῖς οὐ μητέρα μηδείς. Μαρτιών ἀρθεωπός ἐν τῷ αὐθεντῷ τῷ Θεῷ τεχθεῖσα δομιτλοῦ. *Socrat.* lib. 7. cap. 32. *Evagr.* l. 1. c. 2. Let no one call Mary the Mother of God ; for Mary was a Woman, and 'tis impossible that God shou'd be born of a Woman. This unheard-of Doctrine inflam'd both Clergy and People to a very great degree ; however *Nestorius* stuck close to the Innovator, and patroniz'd his Heresy ; and a certain Bishop, by name *Dorotheus*, had the Face in the Church publickly to Anathematize, whoever shou'd call *Mary* Θεοῖς οὐ μητέρα μηδείς. *Vid. Cyril.* in *Epist. ad Acadium Beroens.* *A.D. Concil. Ephesin.* part. I. c. 22. And this was the Occasion of calling the Ephesine Council. *Nestorius* (as I have already observ'd in his Character) was extremely opiniatrice and self-sufficient, and therefore wou'd hardly vouchsafe the Ancients a Reading ; or else he cou'd never have look'd upon Θεοῖς οὐ μητέρα μηδείς as a novel Attribute ; for *Cyril*, President of the Council, quotes no less than nine of the Fathers for the use of this Term. *Cyrill. Epist. ad Reginas.* 'Tis true indeed, that *Athanasius*, *Antiochus*, and *Ammon* only, do expressly call the Virgin Θεοῖς οὐ μητέρα μηδείς, but the Title may be easily justify'd from the other six. Besides, 'tis expressly us'd by *Basil de Humana Christ. Generat.* By *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Epist. I. ad Chelidon. Presbyt.* id. *Orat. I. de Filio.* By *Alexander Alexand.* *ad Alexandrum Constantinopol.* *Theodoret. Hist. Eccles.* l. I. c. 4. By *Eusebius, de vit. Constantini*, l. 3. c. 43, and long before them all, 'tis expressly made use of by *Origen*, who is very copious upon this Epithet, and in what Sense the *Virgin* is to be stil'd Θεοῖς οὐ μητέρα μηδείς. *Orig. Tom. I. Commentar. in Ep. Pauli ad Rom.* but this I have already observ'd from *Socrates, Hist. Eccl.* l. 7. c. 32. Nay, the most virulent Opposers of St. *Cyril* own as much ; and *John Bishop of Antioch*, in an Epistle to *Nestorius*, tells him, it had been us'd by very many of the Fathers, and was never rejected by any. *Vid. A.D. Concil. Ephesin.* part. I. cap. 25. pag. 149, 150. *Edit. Col. an. 1618.* and *Theodore* himself, who at first struck in with *Nestorius*, owns

Christ; because the *Christ* who is God, was not born of her, but that *Christ* only who was Man. For whoever imagines that he speaks of one *Christ*

as much in his Epistle to *Sporacius*, which is extant in the Paris Edition of his Works; Tom. 4. pag. 697. an. 1642. so far were the Well-wishers to *Nestorius* from excusing him in that Age. And to carry this Point yet higher, *Ignatius ad Smyrn.* 1. says, *That our Lord the Son of God was really made of the Virgin.* Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν τὸν Θεόν γεννηθέντα ἐν παρθένῳ and, in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, that *our God Jesus Christ was conceiv'd in the Virgin Mary, according to the Divine Dispensation.* ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Χερσὸς ἐνυπόφερνθι ἔστι Μαρίας καὶ οἰκονομίας Θεός. And according to the Scriptures, *God sent forth his Son made of a Woman*, Gal. 4. 4. οὐδὲ αὐτῷ φέρεται ἐν γυναικός. The Greeks indeed, who are wonderful happy in the Compositions of their Language, were the first who call'd the *Virgin Mary* Θεοτόκος. and, in imitation of them, the *Latins* afterwards call'd her *Deiparam*, and *Dei Genetricem*, the *Parent*, or *Mother of God*; but 'tis very probable, that this compound Word *Deipara*, or *Mother of God*, was not in use amongst the more ancient *Latins*, and therefore our *Vincentius* retains the Greek Word here, *Afferit Mariam non Theotocon, sed Christotocon esse dicendam.*

[*Quod si quis eum putat in Literis suis unum Christum dicere, &c. unam Christi praedicare Personam, non temere credat.*] From the Fall of our first Parents, it has been very natural to the Children to be sewing Fig-leaves, and making the best Cover they can for their Nakedness; and none have discover'd more of this original Artifice, than the Adulterators of the Faith; for it is the constant Complaint of the Primitive Fathers, that the Hereticks look'd always one way, and believ'd another; that they seem'd to profess the Catholick Faith, and had a Faith of their own in Reserve; and *Nestorius* was as good at this Trade as the best of them, as we may see from the Epistle of St. *Cyril ad Regnos*, already mention'd. For when Disguise and Shuffling wou'd no longer secure him, and he saw the Council went clearly against him, he wip'd his Mouth, and hop'd to reconcile all with this feign'd occasional Acknowledgement, Λέσσεω γε Θεοτόκην Μαρία, καὶ παρασχεώ τὰ λυπητά. *Socr.* l. 7. cap. 34. Well then, if you will, let *Mary* be call'd Θεοτόκη, or *Mother of God*, and let there be no more ado about it. But (says the same Historian) the Council understood the Man too well to be impos'd on with such a Concession, and accordingly proceeded to pass Sentence against him. I have already observ'd, that *Nestorius* profess'd, he cou'd not possibly call him *God*, who was but two or three Months old: If so, I can't see how 'twas possible for *Nestorius*

Christ only in his Writings, and preacheth up Christ to be one Person also, I advise him to look again before he believes him: For tho' he may drop some Expressions which may seem to look this way, yet this is only the Heretick's Cunning, the easier to seduce his Readers by good Words into bad Opinions, according to that of the Apostle, *He works Death in me by that which is good*; either therefore, as I just now said, he makes his boast in some Passages of believing one Christ, and one Person of Christ,

Nestorius to be misunderstood in this Case: For can any Proposition in the World be plainer, than that the Word was not made Flesh, when the Son of the Virgin was but two or three Months old; and therefore, by an immediate undeniable Consequence, the Son of God before all Worlds, and the Son of the Virgin but two or three Months old, must be two different Persons all that Time. And tho' in some of his Letters he pretends to acknowledge a strict and intimate Union of the two Natures in Christ, yet this is plainly but a Copy of his Countenance; for when he comes to explain and clear his meaning, he does it by such Expressions and Similitudes, as manifestly discover his Insincerity and Aversion to a substantial Union: For he says, that God indwelt or inhabited in Man, as in a Temple, that he was clothed with Flesh, that he associated Man, and that the Union of the Divine and Human Nature in Christ, was like the Union of Man and Wife, with several other Similitudes to the like purpose. So that just as a Man and his House, a Man and his Cloaths, a Man and his Friend, a Man and his Wife, may be said to be all one; just so, and no otherwise, according to Nestorius, is the Word and the Flesh all one in the Person of Jesus Christ. I conclude therefore with Vincentius (and if others had concluded so too, it had been less liable to Objection) that Nestorius deny'd the ἐνσώματική, καὶ φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ, the Natural and Essential Union of the Divine and Human Nature in Christ, which was the Union the Catholic Fathers contended for; that he maintain'd likewise, that in the Time of the Virgin's Conception, or her Delivery, and some time after, there were two distinct Christs, expressly contrary to Scripture, and that of Athanasius, "Αὐθεντός γάρ γε οὐκ εἰς αὐθεντόνα
θάβε· Αἴθαν. Ορατ. 4. contra Arian. The Word was made Man, and not came upon the Man already made; and consequently that Nestorius was neither misunderstood, nor hardly us'd, is the Conclusion of this Chapter.

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[*Quod si quis eum putat in Literis suis unum Christum dicere, & unam Christi prædicare Personam, non temere credat.*] From the Fall of our first Parents, it has been very natural to the Children to be Sewing Fig-leaves, and making the best Cover they can for their Nakedness; and none have discover'd more of this original Artifice, than the Adulterators of the Faith; for it is the constant Complaint of the Primitive Fathers, that the Hereticks look'd always one way, and believ'd another; that they seem'd to profess the Catholick Faith, and had a Faith of their own in Reserve; and *Nestorius* was as good at this Trade as the best of them, as we may see from the Epistle of St. *Cyril ad Reginas*, already mention'd. For when Disguise and Shuffling wou'd no longer secure him, and he saw the Council went clearly against him, he wip'd his Mouth, and hop'd to reconcile all with this feign'd occasional Acknowledgement, Λεστὼν καὶ Θεοτόκον Μαῖα, καὶ πανσάδω τὰ λυπητὰ. *Socr.* I. 7. cap. 34. Well then, if you will, let *Mary* be call'd *Θεοτόκος*, or *Mother of God*, and let there be no more ado about it. But (says the same Historian) the Council understood the Man too well to be impos'd on with such a Concession, and accordingly proceeded to pass Sentence against him. I have already observ'd, that *Nestorius* profess'd, he cou'd not possibly call him *God*, who was but two or three Months old: If so, I can't see how 'twas possible for *Nestorius*

Christ only in his Writings, and preacheth up Christ to be one Person also, I advise him to look again before he believes him: For tho' he may drop some Expressions which may seem to look this way, yet this is only the Heretick's Cunning, the easier to seduce his Readers by good Words into bad Opinions, according to that of the Apostle, *He works Death in me by that which is good*; either therefore, as I just now said, he makes his boast in some Passages of believing *one Christ*, and *one Person of Christ*,

Nestorius to be misunderstood in this Case: For can any Proposition in the World be plainer, than *that the Word was not made Flesh*, when the *Son of the Virgin* was but *two or three Months old*; and therefore, by an immediate undeniable Consequence, the *Son of God before all Worlds*, and the *Son of the Virgin but two or three Months old*, must be two different Persons all that Time. And tho' in some of his Letters he pretends to acknowledge a strict and intimate Union of the two Natures in Christ, yet this is plainly but a Copy of his Countenance; for when he comes to explain and clear his meaning, he does it by such Expressions and Similitudes, as manifestly discover his Insincerity and Aversion to a substantial Union: For he says, that *God indwelt or inhabited in Man*, as in a *Temple*, that *he was clothed with Flesh*, that *he associated Man*, and that the *Union of the Divine and Human Nature in Christ*, was like the *Union of Man and Wife*, with several other Similitudes to the like purpose. So that just as a *Man and his House*, a *Man and his Cloaths*, a *Man and his Friend*, a *Man and his Wife*, may be said to be all one; just so, and no otherwise, according to *Nestorius*, is the *Word and the Flesh all one in the Person of Jesus Christ*. I conclude therefore with *Vincentius* (and if others had concluded so too, it had been less liable to Objection) that *Nestorius* deny'd the *τέλειον φυσικόν, καὶ φυσικήν*, the *Natural and Essential Union* of the Divine and Human Nature in Christ, which was the Union the *Catholic Fathers* contended for; that he maintain'd likewise, that in the *Time of the Virgin's Conception, or her Delivery, and some time after*, there were *two distinct Christs*, expressly contrary to Scripture, and that of *Athanasius*, "Αὐθεντὸς γάρ τισσον, καὶ εἰς αὐθεντὸν θάλε· Αθαν. Ορατ. 4. contra Ariān. *The Word was made Man, and not came upon the Man already made*; and consequently that *Nestorius* was neither misunderstood, nor hardly us'd, is the Conclusion of this Chapter.

with a Design to deceive ; or it was certainly his Opinion, that after the Delivery of the Virgin, the two Persons did meet together in one Christ, but in such a manner, that in the time of the Virgin's Conception, or her Delivery, and some time after, there were two distinct Christs. So that, according to *Nestorius*, Christ at first was born a common mere Man only, not as yet associated in Unity of Person to God the Word, but that afterwards the Person of the assuming Logos descended upon him ; and tho' now by this Assumption, he is become an Indweller in the Glory of God, yet once there seems to have been no difference between him and other Men.

C H A P. XVIII.

A Recapitulation of the aforesaid Heresies, and the Sense of the Catholick Church as to these Points.

AND thus it is, that these Hereticks, *Nestorius*, *Apollinaris*, and *Photinus*, like mad Dogs, bark against the Catholick Faith ; the Trinity is deny'd by *Photinus* ; *Apollinaris* affirms the Essence of the God the Word to be convertible, and disowns two Substances in Christ, affirming the Soul of Christ not to be entirely perfect, or at most but a Soul void of Understanding, but that the Logos of God supply'd the want of Rationality. *Nestorius* averr,

vers, that either always, or at least for some time, there were two Christs. But the Catholic Church has right Notions both in respect of God, and our Saviour, and accordingly neither blasphemeth the Mystery of the Trinity, nor the Incarnation of Christ: For the Church adores but one God in the Plenitude of the Trinity, and an Equality of Three Persons in one and the same Divine Majesty; and professes one Christ Jesus, not two; and owns the same (Jesus) to be both God and Man. She believes that in him there are two Substances, but one only Person; two Substances, because the *Logos* of God is not changeable, so as to be converted into Flesh; one only Person, lest by acknowledging two Sons, we might seem to worship not a Trinity, but a *Quaternity*.

C H A P. XIX.

A farther and more explicit Account of the Mystery of the ever blessed Trinity.

BUT this is a Matter of such Moment, that it well deserves to be consider'd over and over again, and to be stated as distinctly and intelligibly as possible. In God then there is one Substance, but three Persons; in Christ, two Substances, but one Person; in the Trinity, there is *one* and *another*; but not *one* and *another Thing*; in our Saviour, there is *one* and *another Thing or Substance*, but not *one and another*.

and another Person. But pray tell me, why in the Trinity, there is "one and another, but not one and another Thing ? Why, because there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost, but nevertheless, there is not one and another Essence of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but one and the same Essence in all. But how then in our Saviour is there one and another Thing, but not one and another Person? because there is one Substance of his Divinity, and another of his Humanity; but the Divinity and Humanity are not one and another Person, but one and the same Christ, one and the same Son of God, and one and the same Person of one and the same Christ, and Son of God. For as in * Man, the Flesh is one thing

" In trinitate, alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud; in salvatore, aliud atque aliud, non aliis atque aliis.] The different Sense of this Pronoun in its different Genders, *alius atque aliud*, is not expressible in our Language, as it is in the Greek and Latin; and therefore I shall explain it in a short Comment upon the Words of Nazianzen, which are just the same with these of Vincentius; ἀλλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἀλλοὶ, τὰ δὲ ὡν οὐσίης· εἰκὸν ἀλλοὶ καὶ ἀλλοὶ. There are one and another, or two different Substances, of which our Saviour is made up; but he is not one and another, or two different Persons. Λέγεται δὲ ἀλλοὶ, καὶ ἀλλοὶ, ξυπάλιν δὲ σπίτι τετραδόχοις· I say one and another Substance, because 'tis otherwise in relation to the Triad. Ἐνεῖ μὲν δὲ ἀλλοὶ καὶ ἀλλοὶ, οὐα μὴ τὰς ιαντούσις ταῦτα γένεσιν. εἰκὸν δὲ ἀλλοὶ καὶ ἀλλοὶ· εἰν δὲ τὰ τετρά, καὶ ταυτὸν τῷ Θεοτύπῳ. Nazian. Orat. 51. adu. Apollinar. For in the Trinity (we say) there is one and another, Person, for fear of confounding the Subsistences (or Persons); but there is not one and another Substance; for the three are one and the same with respect to the Divinity of their Essence. So that *Alius* denotes the Person, *Aliud* the Substance or Nature of that Person.

* *Sicut in homine aliud Caro, &c aliud Anima; sed unus idemque Homo, Anima & Caro.]* For the distincter understanding of personal

thing, and the Soul another; yet nevertheless the Flesh and Soul make but one Man. In Peter and Paul for instance, the Soul is one thing

sonal Union, it must be consider'd what we mean by the word *Person*; and in order to this, waving all Metaphysical Differences between *Nature* and *Person*, or *Essence* and *Hypostasis*, I shall keep close to my Author's Similitude and Reasoning. In Man then (says he) there are two quite different Parts, a Soul and a Body; the Soul reflects, knows, chooses, &c. The proper Acts of the Body are to Eat, Drink, Generate, &c. But tho' the Soul and Body are the immediate Causes of such Actions, yet they are not said to be the Doers of them, but *Peter* or *Paul*, the *Man*, the *Person*, who results from this Composition of Soul and Body, is charg'd with all the Actions, and is the Subject of all the Passions that arise from this Union of Flesh and Spirit. And tho' the Actions and Properties of one Nature cannot be truly affirm'd of the other, the Soul cannot be said to eat and drink, or the Body to think, yet they may be reciprocally predicated of the same *Person*, and *Peter* who is made up of these two different Parts may be truly said to eat, drink, think, &c. So that in short, a *Person* is the ultimate Issue or Product, resulting from the Composition of Body and Soul; which two Natures being most intimately united, tho' incompatible in themselves, yet the Operations of both may be indifferently affirm'd of the *Person*, who is a Compound of both. To follow *Vincentius* now in the Application of this Similitude; in our Saviour (says he) there are two Natures, one divine, the other human, one of the Substance of his Father, the other of the Substance of the Virgin-Mother, but yet both Natures make but one and the same *Person*, Christ Jesus, both God and Man. From this *Personal Hypostatical* Union therefore of the divine and human Nature in Christ, it necessarily follows, that tho' Christ as the Son of God is not capable of suffering, and as the Son of the Virgin, cannot be said to be God; yet both these Natures being substantially united in one *Person*, Christ Jesus, there must arise a *Communication of Properties* from such Union; and God may be said to bleed and die, and the Son of the Virgin be truly said to be God of God; that is, the Properties and Affections of the divine and human Nature may, and must be promiscuously predicated of the same *Person*, who is made up of both. For if he who was born of the Virgin, was the Virgin's Son, and he who was begotten of God before all Worlds is God of God, and these two are one *Person*, then must the Virgin be the Mother of God, as well as God his Father. What I have to observe farther at present, is, that tho' there are many Similitudes brought by the Ancients and Mo-

derus

thing, and the Flesh another ; but yet the Flesh and Soul are not two *Peters*, nor is the Soul one *Paul*, and the Flesh another *Paul* ; but *Peter* is one and the same Man, and *Paul* is one and the same Man, consisting of two different Natures of Body and Mind. Thus in one and the same Christ there are two Substances, but one divine, the other human ; one from God the Father, the other from the Virgin-Mother ; one Co-eternal and equal to the Father, the other Temporary and inferior to the Father ;

dems to illustrate this Union of the two Natures in Christ, yet are they all defective, and there is nothing in any Class of created Beings that can give us a perfect and adequate Resemblance of it. For the Similitude of Soul and Body making one *Person*, tho' tis very apt and significative, (for which and some other like Expressions hereafter mention'd, *Vincentius* has pass'd for the Author of the Creed commonly call'd *Athanasian*) yet this, I say, in many things is lame and deficient. For Soul and Body are incomplete, imperfect Natures, concurring to the Complexion and Existence of a *Person* that never did exist before ; whereas in Christ both Natures are complete and perfect, concurring (if I may so speak) to make up one *Person*, who had a Subsistence before from all Eternity, tho' not after the same manner as when the Word was made Flesh. The other celebrated *Simile*, is that of *Alexander of Hales*, *Sum. Theolog. part. 3. Quast. 7. Memb. 1. Art. 1.* And it is the Branch of one kind of Tree ingrafted into a Tree of another Kind. For as the Tree is one, and yet hath two different Natures, and beareth two different kinds of Fruit ; so Christ is one *Person*, and yet hath two different Natures, and produceth different Fruits, different Actions proper to each Nature ; and as in the Tree there ariseth no Mixture or Confusion of Natures from this *ingrafted* Union, so neither does there from the *Personal Union* of the divine and human Nature in Christ. And lastly, as we may truly say after such *Ingrafting*, that this Vine is an Olive Tree, and this Olive Tree is a Vine ; so may we as truly say, that this Son of Mary, is the Son of God, and that this Son of God is the Son of Mary. But tho' this Similitude is a very good one, yet is it deficient in some Particulars, as might easily be shewn, was it not too tedious here to insist any longer upon it.

one of the same Substance with the Father, the other of the same Substance with the Mother; but yet these two different Substances make but one and the same Christ. There is not therefore one Christ, who is God, another who is Man; one uncreated, another created; one impassible, another passible; one equal to the Father, another inferior to the Father; one (begotten) of the Father, another (born) of the Mother: But one and the same Christ is both God and Man; both uncreated, and created; both immutable and mutable; both impassible and passible; both equal to the Father, and inferior to the Father; both begotten of the Father before all Time, and born of the Mother in Time; both perfect God and perfect Man: As God, he had Divinity in Perfection; as Man, he had complete Humanity; I say, a complete Humanity, as containing in it both Soul and Flesh, real Flesh of the same kind with ours, deriv'd from his Mother; and a Soul, endowed with all the Faculties of a Soul, with Understanding, Memory and Reason. In Christ then, there is the *Logos*, the Soul and the Body; but all this is but one Christ, one Son of God, one Saviour and Redeemer of the World. But he is one, not by a strange Mixture and Confusion of the Divinity and Humanity together, but by one entire and individual Unity of Person: For that Conjunction of two different Natures made no Conversion or Change of the one into the other, (which is proper

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y Arrianism) but rather compacted both into one in such a manner, that the ^z Propriety of each

* Neque enim illa Conjunction alterum in alterum convertit, neque mutavit, qui est Error proprius Arrianorum.] *Filescus* upon this passage declares that in all his Reading he could never find among the Ancients, that this Error was proper to the *Arians*; he believes however that this was no Calumny of *Vincentius*; but as Hereticks usually grow worse and worse, so this probably might be an Improvement of the After-Arians; and yet in the Conclusion avers, that he had read somewhere, (he could not recollect where) but in a certain Father, that the *Arians* did make the Son of God of a mutable Nature. I have already prov'd in Confirmation of *Vincentius* from *Gregory Nazianzen*, that the *Apollinarians* held the very Godhead in Christ to be corruptible, and that the whole Christ actually dy'd. I have observ'd likewise from *Phabadius*, that the *Arians* agreed with the *Apollinarians* in making the Nature of the *Logos* to suffer in the Flesh, by confounding the Properties of the divine with the human Nature; and if the *Apollinarians* who held the Consubstantiality of the *Word*; did notwithstanding make him mortal, we may very well suppose that the *Arians* who deny'd the *Homousian* Doctrine, made him so too. But to put this Matter out of dispute, I need only repeat a Passage of *Athanasius* already cited, where speaking of the *Arians* we find these Words, Ψ τὸν πατέρα νοοῦν ὅμηρον τὸν πατέρα Θεότητα ἀπορεύεται δοξῶς. *Lib. de Incarn.* They impiously superinduced the Sense of suffering upon the impassible Divinity.

* Ita in Christo quoque utriusque Substantia sua cuique in eternum Proprietas.] I have taken notice how *Photinus* trod partly in the Steps of his Master *Marcellus*, who deny'd the *Word* to be a *Person* before his Incarnation, and affirm'd withal that his Kingdom should continue but to the Day of Judgement, and then his Flesh be annihilated, and the *Proлатitious Word* be resolved into the *Father*, and be no more. Upon this 'tis probable our Author had his Eye, when he concludes, that the incarnate Son of God shall to all Eternity subsist in the Personal Unity of his two Natures, and that his *Humanity* should no more cease to be, either by Annihilation, or Conversion, at the Day of Judgement, than the Body of Man should then be annihilated or transubstantiated into pure Soul.

There is one Remark more I think necessary to be added before we conclude this Chapter, and it is this, *Filescus* intitles this Chapter, A Paraphrase upon the *Athanasian Creed*; and *Anthelmius* proposes ten Reasons to prove that *Vincentius* himself was the Author of this Creed. It was confessedly written first in *Latin*, and it is most probable (says our learned *Pearson*) that it was compos'd by some

each Nature remains for ever distinct in one and the same single Person of Christ; so that the Divinity shall never commence Body, nor that which was once Corporeal, ever cease to be Corporeal. An Example of this Union we may
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Member of the Latin Church, by that Expression in it, *Spiritus S. a Patre & Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.* The ancient Greek Fathers speaking of this *Procession*, mention the *Father* only, and never (as he thinks) express the *Son*, as sticking constantly in this to the Language of the Scriptures. *Vid. Pears. Expos. of the Creed.* p. 324. I will not enter upon the Examination of these Reasons of *Anthelmius* for this Conjecture to the great Honour of *Vincentius*, because it would prove too tedious a Digression, and because the Reader may see the Reasons and the Answers to them, in the *Diatribē in Symbolum quicunque vult*, at the end of the second Tome of the Works of *Athanasius*, publish'd by the *Benedictines*, and printed at *Paris*, M. DC. XCVIII. But I shall set down the Collection made by *Anthelmius* out of this *Commonitory*, and chiefly out of this and the two following Chapters, and from the *Athanasian Creed*; and leave the Reader to form what Conjectures he pleases from the Affinity between them.

*Tabula Prima.**Excerptum ex Symbolo.**Excerptum ē Commonitorio.*

I. Fides autem Catholica hæc est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate, & Trinitatem in unitate veneremur.

II. Neque confundentes Personas, neque substantiam separantes.

III. Alia est enim Persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

IV. Sed Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas, æqualis Gloria, coexterna Majestas.

I. Ecclesia vero Catholica unam Divinitatem in Trinitate plenitudine, & Trinitatis æqualitatem, in una atque eadem Majestate veneratur.

II. Ut neque singularitas substantie, Personarum confundat proprietatem, neque item Trinitatis distinctio unitatem separet Deitatis.

III. Quia scilicet Alia est Persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

IV. Sed Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti non alia & alia, sed una eademque natura.

Tabula

see in our selves; for not only in this World,
but in that to come, every one shall consist of

Tabula Secunda.

Excerptum ex Symbolo.

Excerptum è Commonitorio.

I. Est ergo fides recta ut credamus & confiteamur, quia dominus noster Jesus Christus Dei Filius, Deus & Homo est.

II. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante facula genitus, & homo est ex substantia Matris in seculo natus.

III. Perfectus Deus, perfectus Homo, ex anima rationali & humana carne subsistens.

IV. Aequalis Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem.

I. Vehementer enim praevere debemus, ut Christum non modo unum sed semper unum confiteamur — unus idemque Christus, Filius Dei, unus idemque Christus, Deus & Homo.

II. Idem ex Patre ante facula genitus, idem ex Matre in faculo generatus.

III. Perfectus Deus, perfectus Homo, in Deo summa Divinitas, in homine plena Humanitas: quippe quae animam simul habeat & carnem — ex duplice diversaque subsistens animi corporisq; natura.

IV. Duæ substantiaz sunt, una coæterna, & aequalis Patri; altera ex tempore & minor Patre.

Tabula Tertia.

Excerptum ex Symbolo.

Excerptum è Commonitorio.

I. Qui licet Deus sit & homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.

II. Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum; unus omnino non confusione substantiae, sed unitate Personæ.

III. Nam sicut Anima rationalis & Caro unus est Homo, ita Deus & Homo unus est Christus.

IV. Qui passus est pro salute nostra.

I. Unum Christum Jesum, non duos, eundemq; Deum pariter atq; hominem — hoc totum unus est Christus.

II. Unus autem non — divinitatis & humanitatis Confusione, sed unitate Personæ — non conversione Naturæ sed Personæ.

III. Igitur sicut Anima conexa carni, non imitatur hominem sed est Homo, ita etiam verbum Deus uniendo se Homini — factus est Homo — & ex duabus Substantiis unus est Christus.

IV. Ecclesia Deum secundum Hominem credit factum passum, &c.

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Soul and Body ; and yet the Soul shall never be chang'd into Body, nor the Body ever chang'd into Soul ; but as every Man shall continue for ever, so shall the Difference between Soul and Body continue for ever also. And thus we ought to believe, that in Christ the same Propriety shall everlastingly remain to each several Substance in the Unity of the same Person.

C H A P. XX.

*The Humanity of Christ asserted against
the Manicheans.*

BUT by making such frequent Use of the word *Person*, and by saying that God took upon him the *Person* of Man, I am very much afraid of being misunderstood, as if it was my Opinion, that *God the Word* is Man only from his *Personating* the Actions of Man, and that all he did amongst us he did in Appearance only, and not as true ^a real Man ; just

* *Non quasi versus Homo fecerit.]* Now *Persona* in the Latin Tongue being an equivocal Term, and signifying either the ultimate and finish'd Result from an Union of Flesh and Spirit, as I have already defin'd it ; that is, a real and perfect Man, and which signifying a *Vizard*, an *Actor* in a Play, a *Person* in Appearance only ; and Christ in his Human Nature being look'd upon merely as such by many Hereticks, our Author thought it proper to distinguish and explain himself a little what he meant by the word *Persona*. From our Saviour's Nativity to his Crucifixion, the only Dispute was, whether Christ was truly and properly the Son of God ; but soon

just as in Theaters we see one Actor shift himself into different Persons, tho' he himself is really none of those he represents; for in Representations of this kind, the Actors and

soon after his Resurrection, (such is the Perverseness of some Men) his very Humanity was call'd in Question; so that Christ between two sorts of Thieves, cou'd neither be God nor Man. How soon his Humanity was deny'd, we may learn from St. John, and his Disciple Ignatius; Every Spirit (says the Apostle) that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God; and every Spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is not of God; and this is that Antichrist, whereof you have heard that it shou'd come, and even now already is it in the World. And his Disciple's Epistle to the Smyrnæans seems wholly levell'd against this sort of Hereticks; for speaking of Christ there, thus he affirms, ἀληθῶς ὅντα ἐκ χρόνου Δασιδίῳ στέγηκε, μὲν Θεῷ καὶ θέλημα καὶ δυνάμιν Θεῷ, γεγονόδιον ἀληθῶς εἰς παρθένον, Ἀληθῶς τοῦ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ Ἡρῴδης τελεγέρχεις καθηλωμένον τέλος ἤμαν εἰς σαρκί. In the first Words of this Epistle, he stiles Jesus Christ, οὐδὲν τὸ γένος ὑπάρχει σοφίσαντα. The God that hath thus fill'd you with Wisdom; this very God (says he) was truly of the Lineage of David, according to the Flesh, but the Son of God, according to the Will and Power of God, was truly born of the Virgin, (which by the way is the very thing which the Fathers understood by the Term Θεολόγος) was truly crucify'd for us in the Flesh under Pontius Pilate, and Herod the Tetrarch. Again, καὶ αληθῶς ἐπαθεῖν, ὡς καὶ αληθῶς ἀνέστην ἐαυτῷ, εἰς ὕπαρξην ἀπιστού τινες λέγεσιν τὸ δόκειν αὐτὸν πεπονθέντα. And he suffer'd as truly, as he truly rais'd himself again, and not as some Unbelievers give out, that he suffer'd in Appearance only. And a little after, Ignatius affirms, that even after his Resurrection he was in the Flesh, and for a Proof, quotes those Words of Scripture; Handle me, and see, for a Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones, as ye see me have. And if one might have leave to conjecture, I am verily of Opinion, that when Christ made Thomas thrust his hand into his Side, it was not merely for the Conviction of him and the rest, that he was the true real Son of the Virgin, but likewise for the Conviction of those Hereticks he then saw rising in the World, who taught that he never had any real Human Flesh at all; so early was this senseless Heresy in the Christian World; the Professors and Followers of it were call'd Δοκιμαι, or the Family of the Seemers. Whether the Deniers of Christ's Divinity, or his Humanity, are the greatest Monsters, is hard to tell; but plain it is, that Infidelity in some Men is an incurable Disease by any Demonstrations either of Sense or Reason, and therefore Heresies must be.

the

the Men acted, are different Persons. For to use the Comparison your *Manicheans*, and some other Libertines are so fond of, when a Tragedian plays the Priest or King, he himself is neither Priest nor King ; for when the Part is over, the Person ceases. But God forbid, that we shou'd ever come to that wicked Pass, as to make a Mock of the Mystery of the Incarnation by such a Theatrical Comparison ! Let the
b *Manicheans* answer for this Madness, for they
are

^b *Manicheorum sit ista Dementia, qui Phantasiae Prædicatores, &c.* The Δοκινοὶ, and Φαντασταὶ, and the *Manichees*, who preach'd that our Saviour was a Man only putative, and came into the World in *Phantasmate*, and consequently did suffer only putative, were so call'd, not from the Founder, but the Nature of the Heresy, because they taught that Christ did every thing only ἐν δοκίνῃ, in Appearance, and not Reality. *Vid. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. I. 7.* This Heresy, tho' in time branch'd out into many Monsters, was rising under St. John, and getting head under Ignatius, as I have just now shewn, and is to be ascrib'd to *Simon Magus*; who declar'd, that it was he who deliver'd the Law to the Jews on Mount Sinai, in the Person of the Father; that in the Time of Tiberius, personated the Son; and that he was the Holy Spirit, who afterwards came down upon the Apostles in the Appearance of fiery Tongues; *Christum autem nec venisse, nec à Iudeis quicquam pertulisse*; But that Christ neither came, nor suffer'd any thing from the Jews, *S. Augustin. Her. I.* Now what *Simon Magus* said of himself, when he made himself the Son, that his Followers affirm'd of Christ, as *Saturninus* affirm'd, *Christum in Substantia non fuisse, & Phantasmate tantum quasi passum fuisse*. *Tertul. Præf. adv. Hæret. cap. 46.* That Christ was not in Reality or Substance, but in Shadow or Appearance, and made only as if he suffer'd. And therefore both he and *Basilides*, *Valentinus*, *Cerdon*, *Marcion*, and many more, are to be reckon'd among the *Phantasiae Prædicatores*, or the Family of the *Seemers*. The *Manicheans* were so call'd from *Manes*; but who this *Manes* was, or whether a Name only that signifies Heretick, or *Phanatick*, or *Madman*, as the Greek Writers understand it, is uncertain. *Theodoreth* saith, that *Manes* was a *Persian*, and call'd *Scythianus*, ὁ τὸν Μάνην Πέγοντις λύει, &c. *Theod. Her. Fab. I. 1. cap. 26.* *Epiphanius* says, he was first call'd *Cubricus*; but 'tis certain that *Scythianus* and *Cubricus* were two different Persons, and therefore 'tis most probable that *Manes* was only a common Name of Hereticks.

are the Preachers up of this Phantom, who presume to say, that God the Son of God took not on him the substantial Person of a Man, but

tick. Vid. Bevereg. Annot. in Can. Conc. Trull. Can. 95. p. 163. But Epiphanius moreover saith, that Scythianus, the first Founder of the Manichean Heresy, was a Saracen; that he had one Terebinthus, afterwards call'd Buddas for his Disciple; that this Buddas had a Scholar, call'd Cubricus, and also Manes, from whence the Manicheans, who set this Heresy on foot in the Days of Aurelian, or Probus the Emperor, about the Year 277. But the Name of Manes is so fully explain'd, the Manichean Pedegree so clearly trac'd, and Epiphanius so solidly vindicated from the Animadversions of Petavius by our great Bishop Pearson, in his Exposition of the Creed, Artic. I. p. 64. that I will not presume to make any Addition, but only give my Reader a Summary of what Eusebius and Socrates have deliver'd in this Case, and which he will not find in the Notes just now referr'd to. Eusebius, lib. 7. cap. 31. speaking of Manes, says, Δαιμόνιος τις ἦν καὶ μαριδός, He was a Demoniack and Madman, who set up for being the Christ, and another time gave out himself to be the Paraclete or Holy Ghost; and, as if he had been Christ, chose himself twelve Disciples, and patch'd up a Parcel of old worn-out Heresies, and from Persia imposed 'em into the Roman World, which gave Rise to the Manichean Frenzy, and which, in the Time of Eusebius, abounded in many Places. This being but a very imperfect Account, (saith Socrates) he thought it proper to add these Particulars: There was one Scythianus, a Saracen, well vers'd in the Learning of the Egyptians, who introduc'd the Opinions of Empedocles and Pythagoras into the Christian Religion, asserting two Natures or Principles, one evil; the other good; the evil one he call'd νεῖκος, or Discord, the good one φιλία, or Friendship. The Disciple of Scythianus, was one Buddas, who formerly went by the name of Terebinthus, who coming into Babylon set up for a mighty Miracle-monger, pretending that he was born of a Virgin, and had been brought up in the Mountains; he wrote four Books; and making a Shew one day to be very serious about some sacred Rites, a Demon threw him from a Precipice, and there was an end of him: His Hostie's where he lodg'd bury'd him; and having got all the Money he had, purchas'd a Boy about seven years old, by name Cubricus, and made him free, and taught him to read, and soon after dy'd, leaving him all the Effects of Terebinthus, and the Books which he had written from the Instructions of his Master Scythianus. With this Furniture Cubricus sets out, and marches into Persia under the name of Manes; the Books of Terebinthus he presented to his Followers as his own; they carry a Face of Christianity, but in truth are downright Paganism; for they command

but acted a Part, and convers'd only in Shadow, and the Apparition of Human Nature. But the Catholick Faith is this, that the *Logos* of God was so made Man, that he did not falliciously and phantaistically represent Human Nature, but truly and properly assume it; and what he did as Man, was not in Shew and Imitation of another, but was as much his own Action, as any Man's is his; he play'd not the Part of Man, but was the very Thing he acted; just as we our selves, when we speak, taste, or do any other Actions of Life, we are not Men by Imitation, but in Reality; and as Peter and John (to instance in them particularly) were not Men in Shadow, but Substance; or as Paul did not act an Apostle, or personate a Paul, but was a real Apostle, and a real Paul; so the Divine *Logos* when he took upon him our

command the Worship of many Gods, particularly the Adoration of the Sun: He introduces Fate, and the Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls into several Bodies, according to *Empedocles*, *Pythagoras*, and the Opinion of the *Egyptians*: He denies Christ to have come in the Flesh, and makes him to be a Phantasm only: He rejects the Law and the Prophets, and stiles himself the *Paraclete*. The Fate of this Wretch, in short was this: The King of Persia's Son falling dangerously ill, and he having heard great Talk of *Manes*, and taking his Miracles upon Trust, sent for him, as an Apostle, to recover him, who came, and, with all the Formality and Demureness imaginable, took him in his Arms to cure him; but the King thereupon finding his Son expire in his hands, forthwith order'd him to be clapp'd in Chains, with a Design to execute him immediately; but *Manes* broke Goal, and made his Escape into *Mesopotamia*; where the King hearing of him, order'd him to be fle'd, and to have his Skin stuff'd with Straw, and hung before the Gates of the City. This Account, *Socrates* tells us, he collected out of a Disputation of *Archelaus* Bishop of *Mesopotamia*, which he had personally with *Manes*; the Disputation is affix'd by *Valesius*, at the end of his Annotations. *Vid. Socr. Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. 22.*

Flesh, spake and acted, and suffer'd in our Flesh, but without any Alteration of his Divine Nature ; and this he was pleas'd to do, not to mimick, but to express himself a true Man ; not to appear to be Man, but verily to prove himself so. Therefore as the Soul united to Flesh, but not converted into Flesh, is a Man, not in Picture, but Essence ; a Man not by Simulation, but Substance ; so *God the Word*, by being united to Human Nature without any Change of his Divinity is made Man, not by personating his Actions, but by assuming his Humanity. Far therefore, very far be it from us to entertain a Thought of any such imaginary Incarnation as arises only from Imitation, where the Imitator and the Thing imitated, the Actor and the Person acted, are always different. Far be it from us, I say, to believe that the *God-Word* personated Man in such a fallacious manner, but rather on this wise only, *viz.* that his own Divine Essence remaining entire and unchangeable, and clothing it self with the Nature of a perfect Man, he became Flesh, he became Man, and the very Person of Man, not in Figure, but Truth, not by Imitation, but Substance ; and lastly, not so, that he divested himself of Manhood, when he ceas'd to appear (on the Stage of the World) as Man, but so, that he will continue the same perfect God-Man for ever. This Unity therefore of Person in Christ, did by no means commence after the Delivery of the Virgin, but was compacted and perfected in the very Womb of the Virgin.

C H A P. XXI.

*That Christ is truly and properly Man, and
the Virgin Mary as truly and properly
the Mother of the God-Man.*

AS we value therefore a sound Faith, we must be sure to profess Christ not only to be one Person now, but we must profess also that he was never otherwise ; because, notwithstanding you grant him to be one now, yet is it intolerable Blasphemy to affirm , that once he was not One, but Two ; *One*, namely, *after Baptism*, but *Two about the Time of his Nativity* : Which Sacrilege of the highest kind, we cannot avoid otherwise, than by confessing Man to be personally united to God; and moreover that this Unity of Person was made, not after his Ascension, or Resurrection, or Baptism, but even in his Mother, in her Womb, and in the very Instant of her Conception. Upon the Account of this personal Union it is, that we do indifferently and promiscuously give the ^c Attributes of God to Man, and so again the

^c *Propter quam Persona Unitatem, indifferenter ei atq; promiscue,
q; que Dei sunt propria, tribuuntur homini, q; que Carnis propria
ascribuntur Deo.]* This I take to be admirably express'd, and to be a
short, clear, and full Explication of Personal Unity, which by the
Greek Fathers was call'd *Αὐτίδοσις*, *Αὐτιμέλασσος*, and by the
Schools is term'd *Communicatio idiomatum*, a *Communication of Properties*. Such a *Communication* it was, that *Nestorius* wou'd never
admit of, whereby it was manifest that he believ'd *two Persons* as
well as *two Natures*; for he wou'd never allow, that what was pre-
dicted

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the Properties of Human Nature to the Divine. Upon this Account it is that we find it said in *John 3. 13.* Scripture, that *The Son of Man came down from Heaven,*

dicated of the *Word*, cou'd be affirm'd of *Man*, or that the Attributes of the Divine and Human Nature cou'd be promiscuously and indifferently ascrib'd to one and the same Person, Christ Jesus. On the other hand, the *Council* unanimously agreed, that he who was in the *Form of God*, and he who was in the *Form of a Servant*, was but one and the same Person; and that this cou'd not possibly be effected, but by the most intimate Conjunction of the two Natures, in Christ; and, by virtue of such a Conjunction, this Proposition is convertible and equally true both ways, *God is Man, Man is God*. If then God is Man, the Consequence is unavoidable, that every essential Property of Human Nature may be verify'd of the *God-Man*, or else he must be a Man without Human Nature, that is, a Man, and not a Man at the same time; and vice versa, if Man is God, then every thing belonging to God may be affirm'd of the Man, Christ Jesus. Lastly, If the Properties of Human Nature may be attributed to the *Logos*, then all the Actions and Passions naturally arising from those Properties, may be attributed to him also. From such a Personal Union therefore of the Divine and Human Nature in Christ, there must necessarily follow a real Communion of Properties, Actions, and Passions; so that whatever is done by either Nature, may truly and properly be said to be done by the *Word made Flesh*; not that these Things are predicable of Christ, in one and the same Respect, but κατ' ἀλλο χ' ἀλλα, with relation to the different Natures in one Person; for the Properties of both Natures are incomunicable to each other; and the human Nature in Christ suffer'd as much, as if it had not been united to the Divine; and the Divine suffer'd no more, than if it had been never made *Flesh*; both Natures in this Conjunction preserving their Properties distinct, without any the least Mixture or Conversion. By virtue of this Essential Union, *Vincentius* declares it is, that the Scriptures speak on this wise, *The Son of Man came down from Heaven, and the Lord of Glory was crucify'd on Earth, &c.* To which I add these other Texts, whose are the Fathers, and of whom concerning the *Flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen. God blessed for ever then, and Christ in the Flesh, is one and the same Person*. Again, These Words, spake Jesus, and lift up his Eyes to Heaven, (a remarkable Circumstance, in my Opinion, denoting the Place from whence he came) and said, Father, the Hour is come, glorify thy Son; and a little after, And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the Glory which I had with thee before the World was. When *Paulus Samosatenus* began the Division of the two Natures in Christ, and talk'd of the Divine Wisdom's indwelling and

Heaven, and that, The Lord of Glory was crucify'd on Earth. For the same reason it is, that the very *Logos* of God is said to be made, because our Lord was made Flesh, and the very Fulness of Divine Wisdom stil'd Created Wisdom, just as in the Prophecy, *His Hands and his Feet* are said to be pierc'd; and lastly, from this Unity of Person this other Mystery also like to the former naturally arises, viz. *That the Flesh of the Logos being born of the Virgin-Mother, the very Logos himself, or God the Word, must be said to be born of the Virgin also;* This is most Catholickly believ'd, and it cannot be deny'd without the greatest Impiety. Since this then is the Case, God ^a forbid that any

and inhabiting in Christ, as in the Temple of God, which Nestorius afterwards reviv'd, the Council of Antioch defin'd Christ to be, Πλευρων συνθετον εν Θεοτητι, & ιαγενις, και ανθρωπικης σαρκης. One Person compos'd of Heavenly Divinity and Human Flesh. This Union was likewise call'd, ενωσις χριστινης, και ανθρωπινης, a Natural, Essential, Hypostatical Union; this last Epithet indeed has been censur'd for a hard Name, and those too for Lovers of hard Names who make use of it; but certainly the Fault is not in the Word, but the Understanding, or the Will; for 'tis a plain Greek Word, and fully expressive of that Union whereby alone Christ can be both God and Man; and was as good a Name, as a Word cou'd be, against such Hereticks, as when they like not the Faith, fall out with the Word; and therefore 'tis great pity so wise a Man did not leave this Witticism to those merry Folks, who, to set the World a laughing at one of the most venerable Body of Bishops that ever met in Council, tell 'em, that the Nicene Fathers fell together by the Ears about an Iota, tho' that Iota, and this Hypostatical, were of no less Concern than the Divinity and the Humanity of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

^d *Abit, ut quisquam sanctam Mariam Divine Gratiae privilegiis, ut speciali Gloria, fraudare conetur.]* When Vincentius had prov'd at large, that Θεοσύνη, or Mother of God, was a Title justly due to the Virgin Mary, he concludes, *Far be it from any Christian to derogate from that peculiar Glory vouchsaf'd the holy Mary.* When the blessed Virgin enclos'd (if I may so speak) God blessed for ever in

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^a *Eccles 3. 15.
James 2. 1.*

any one shou'd be so wicked, as to fet his Brains
a working how to defraud the holy *Mary* of
this Privilege of Divine Favour, her special
and

the Temple of her Womb, there united to our Flesh, certainly it was the greatest Honour done to Human Nature it was capable of, next to a *Personal Union* of God with Man; and if any *indwelling* of the Godhead, this surely might have made that *Living Temple* an Object of Divine Worship; but had there been any such Divine Addresses paid her, much less such numberless *Ave-Maries* stirring then, as in our Days, our *Author* himself, by so cold a Compliment, had been guilty of *defrauding* her of the Honour due unto her, which is the very thing here he prays against. The very Subject, methinks, might have warm'd him into some *Hyperboles*, and tempted him to have droppe'd some Expressions, which the *Romish* Commentators (who are never wanting upon the least Occasion) might have improv'd into Divine Worship; but our Author upon this Temptation goes not one Title farther than *extraordinary Favour or special Glory*; and since what he means by those Expressions is a Secret they don't, it seems, care to tell, I will endeavour to do it for 'em; and from a *Saint* too, in whose Commendation *Vincentius* has spent a whole Chapter, *viz. cap. 7.* I mean, as he stiles him, the *venerable Ambrose*. For he in his third Book, *cap. 12. de Spiritu Sancto*, from that Text, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, lays it down, as a Catholick Axiom with the rest of his Predecessors; That no Creature whatever, upon any Account whatever, cou'd possibly be made an Object of Divine Worship, and this too in opposition to the *Arians*, who paid Divine Worship to Christ whom they did not acknowledge to be God. Upon this Postulate then he thus declares, *Adoravit enim Christum Maria, adoraverunt ergo Apostoli, adoraverunt ergo Angeli; neq; cum adoraretur tanquam Dei Filius, natus ex Virgine negatur.* Mary worshipp'd Christ, and the Apostles worshipp'd him, and the Angels worshipp'd him; and when he was thus worshipp'd as the Son of God, he was not deny'd to be the Son of the Virgin. *Ac ne quis hoc derivet ad Mariam Virginem, Maria erat Templum Dei, non Deus Templi, & ideo solus ille adorandus, qui operabatur in Templo.* And let no one derive the like Honour upon the Virgin Mary; for Mary was but the Temple of God, and not the God of the Temple; and therefore be alone (the H. Ghost) is to be worshipp'd, who operated in that Temple. In no Cloud of Glory then, in no other Temple but the Flesh of Christ, did all the Fullness of the Godhead dwell bodily, and therefore Christ only to be worshipp'd, who is both the Temple, and the God of the Temple. *Epiphanius* up on the Heresie of the *Collyridians*, *Heresj. 79.* is so express against any divine Honour to the blessed Virgin, that one might seem to be

and peculiar Glory ; for it is upon the Account of this singular Blessing of the Lord, our God, but her Son, that she is most truly to be acknowledg'd the *blessed Mother of God* ; but not the *Mother of God* in that impious Sense, as some Hereticks wou'd insinuate, who will have her to be call'd *the Mother of God*, because she was the Mother of a Man who came afterwards to be a God ; just as we are wont to say, such a one is the Mother of a Priest or Bishop, not because she was deliver'd of a Priest or Bishop, but because she is the Mother of a Child who in time came to be made a Priest or Bishop. But 'tis not in this Sense, I say, that we are to hold the holy *Mary* to be the *Mother of God*, but for the Reason above mention'd ; because that adorable Mystery of the Incarnation was accomplish'd in the consecrated Temple of her Womb, because of that singular, that only personal Union of the Divine and Human Nature, whereby the *Logos* in the Flesh is Man, as the Man in God is God.

be Popishly affected to pass him over upon this occasion; thus the^a that Father; 'Η Μαεία εἰ τιμή, ὁ πάτερ τερσκωέσθω. 'Εν τιμῇ ἐστιν Μαεία, ὁ δὲ Πατής, καὶ ψός, καὶ ἄγιος Πνεῦμα, τερσκωέσθω. Τιμὴ Μαείαν μηδεὶς τερσκωέσθω. 'Ει καλλίστη η Μαεία, καὶ ἄγια, καὶ τετιμημένη, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τερσκωέσθω. Let Mary be honour'd, the Lord be worshipp'd. Let Mary be in Honour, but the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be worshipp'd. Let no one worship Mary. Tho Mary be highly Fair, Holy, and Honourable, yet must she never be rais'd into Adoration. One thing indeed is very remarkable, that as it is said of Moses, *No Man knoweth of his Sepulchre unto this day*; so whether the blessed Virgin so much as dy'd either a natural Death, or was martyr'd, much less where she was bury'd, knoweth no Man unto this day ; and whether it is not as reasonable to conjecture, that thus it was order'd by God on purpose to prevent any Superstition or Idolatry that might arise about the Body and Sepulchre of the Virgin-Mother, as about the Body of Moses, I leave to the Consideration of the Reader.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXII.

A Recapitulation of the Heresies from Chapter Seventeen.

BUT now what I have briefly declar'd concerning the foregoing Heresies, and the Catholick Faith, it may not be amiss for the help of Memory to go over again more briefly;

[*Sed jam ea, qua supra de memoratis Heresibus repetamus.*] It was not without great Reason, that the Primitive Fathers contended so earnestly for the *Faith once deliver'd*, because they look'd upon a right *Faith* (whatever some *moral Men* may think on't now a-days) as necessary to *Salvation*, as a right *Practice*: *For he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned.* And surely, if any *Belief* be necessary, it must be a *Belief* in the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, that *initiatory fundamental Article*, without which no *Man* can be a *Christian*, or have any *Title to the Benefits of the New Covenant*. *Vincentius* therefore knowing it to be as much as *our Souls* are worth, to have a right *Notion* of the *Trinity*, explains and *inculcates* it over and over again; and with a *Zeal according to Knowledge*, concludes with an *Anathema* against those *three Hereticks*, who had so notoriously subverted the very *Foundation of Christianity*. For first, if according to *Photinus*, Christ was a *meer Man* only, then the *Merits* of a *Man* cou'd never pay our *Debt*, and make full *Satisfaction* for the *Demerits* of *Mankind*; and yet we cannot be *Christians* without professing to worship this *Man* with *Divine Honour*, which is as expressly against the *Word of God*, and the whole *Design of Christianity*, as any thing in the *World* possibly can be. Secondly, If according to *Apollinaris*, the *Divinity of Christ* was *corruptible*, then must the *Divinity of God the Father* be *corruptible* also, the *Son* being of the same *Substance* with the *Father*. And if he took not upon him an *understanding Soul*, then cannot he be said to have suffer'd in our *Nature*, having not taken upon him our nobler *Part*, a *rational Soul*. Lastly, If according to *Nestorius*, the *Son of God before all Worlds*, was not the same *Person* with him who was born of the *Virgin Mary*, and suffer'd under *Pontius Pilate*, and was crucify'd dead, and bury'd, &c. then the whole *Creed* must drop to pieces; then we have a *Quaternity*, instead of a *Trinity of Persons*; then we worship a *Man* for *God*, which *Idolatry* was charg'd by the

briefly ; for this is the way to give a clearer View of Things, and to make a more lasting Impression upon the Mind. First then for *Photinus*, let him be *Anathema*, for not admitting the Plenitude of the Trinity, and for preaching up Christ to be a meer Man only. Let *Apollinaris* also be *Anathema*, for asserting the Divine Nature in Christ to be converted into Flesh, and for denying him the Properties of a perfect Man. And for *Nestorius*, let him likewise be *Anathema* for disowning the Virgin to be the Mother of God, and for asserting two Christs ; and for exploding the Doctrine of the Trinity, and introducing a *Quaternity* into the World. But blessed be the *Catholick Church* for worshipping one God in the Fulness of the Trinity, and an Equality of the Three Persons in one Godhead ; for worshipping the Trinity in such a manner, that neither the Singularity of the Substance confounds the Propriety of the Persons, nor the Distinction of Persons divides the Unity of the Godhead. Blessed be the Church, I say, for believing two real perfect Natures in Christ, and but one Person ; so that neither the Difference of Natures destroys the

the Fathers upon the *Nestorians*, as well as *Arians* ; then cannot God be truly said, *to have spar'd not his own Son, or so to have lov'd the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, &c.* And so the whole Mystery of our Redemption is debas'd and vilify'd from the *Purchase of God with his own Blood*, into the Blood of a meer Man. These and many more are the damnable Consequences that necessarily flow from the foremention'd Heresies ; and therefore I conclude, that *Vincentius* in these *Anathema's* has done nothing more, than what St. Paul has authoriz'd him to do, when he said, *Two we, or an Angel from Heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have preach'd unto you, let him be accursed.*

Unity of Person, nor the Unity of Person confounds the Difference of Natures. Blessed be the Church for professing Christ to be, and always to have been but one Person ; and that the Human Nature was united to the Divine, not after the Delivery, but in the very Womb of his Mother. Blessed be the Church for teaching, that God was made Man, not by Conversion of Nature, but by Unity of Person, but a Person not counterfeit and transient, but substantial and permanent. Blessed be the Church again, I say, for preaching up this personal Union to be of such Effect, that for this Reason, by an incomprehensible ineffable Mystery, she ascribes Divinity to Man, and Humanity to God : For by virtue of this Union it is, that she affirms, Man, as he was God, came down from Heaven, and God, as he was Man, was created, suffer'd, and was crucify'd. Lastly, for the same Reason she confesses Man to be the Son of God, and God to be the Son of the Virgin. Blessed therefore, for ever blessed, sacred, and inviolable is this Confession, and altogether like that Angelick ^f Doxology, which

^f *Omnino supernæ illi Angelorum Laudationi comparanda Confessio quæ unum Dominum Deum Trina Sanctificatione glorificat.*] The Angelick Doxology here meant, is what we find in *Isaiah*, chap. 6. v. 3. and so in the *Revelation*, chap. 4. v. 8. *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty.* This the Fathers, and the ancient Liturgies, call τὸ ἀμ-
βούσιον καὶ τεισάσιον ὄμρον, and simply τὸ τεισάσιον. The Trium-
phal and Thrice-Holy Hymn ; and this they all interpret of a Trinity
of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead. Thus Athanasius, ^{"Αγιός,}
^{"Αγιός,} ^{"Αγιός,} λέσοια, (ζῶα) τὰς τρεῖς ψωστοῖς τελείας
δεικνυότα δὲν, ως καὶ σὺ πα λέσειν, λέσοις, τὸ μιαρώσια δη-
λέσιν. Athan. Tom. Edit. Paris. an. 1627. pag. 154. 155. These
Angelick

which glorifies the one Lord God with this Tri-sagion, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty,* &c. For the Church doth for this reason most especially teach the Unity of Christ, that we may not augment the Number of Persons in the adorable Trinity. These things I have touch'd upon only by way of Digression, but by God's Help I design to treat and explain 'em more fully some other time. And now to return to my Subject.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Character of Origen, and the great Temptation he was in the Christian Church.

I Have already said, that in the Church of God the Error of the Priest was the Temptation of the People; and the more Learned the Person is, who is Author of the Error, the greater is the Temptation. This I prov'd first from the Authority of Scripture, and then from the Examples of some Ecclesiasticks, instancing in such especially, who for some time had the Reputation of a sound Faith, but at length fell off, either into another Sect, or a new Heresie of their own making. This indeed I look upon

Angelick Creatures by saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, declare Three perfect Subsistences or Persons; and by saying Lord, demonstrate one Substance or Essence. Vid. Epiphan. in Ancorato. lib. 26. Ambros. lib. 2. de Fide, cap. 4. Fulgent. lib. de Fide ad Petrum Diaconum, cap. II.

as a Matter of great Consequence, a very instructive Lesson, and by no means to be forgot, but what we ought to illustrate and inculcate over and over again by the most considerable Examples we can find, that all true Catholicks may know it to be their Duty to receive their Teachers as the Church receives them, and not to desert the Faith of the Church upon the Authority of their Teachers. But of all the numerous Examples of *Church-Temptation* that might be produced, there is none in my Opinion comparable to that of *Origen*; for none had more Excellencies, nor in greater Perfection. He had such singular and astonishing Qualities, that every one at first would be apt to pin his Faith upon all he said. For if an exemplary Life is of any Credit and Authority amongst Christians, his signal Industry, signal Chastity, Patience and Suffering, were great Temptations. If Birth and Learning can set a Gloss upon a Temptation, what more illustrious than that of *Origen*? Who in the first place was the Son of a Martyr; and in the next place, was & not only

** Deinde pro Christo non solum patre, sed omni quoque facultate privatus, &c.]* The Father of *Origen* was *Leonides*, whom *Suidas* in voc. *'Oeconomus*, p. 389. Tom. 2. makes a Bishop, but for what reason I know not; but a *Martyr* for the Christian Faith he undoubtedly was; and in the Tenth of *Severus*, An. *Christi* 202. he was imprison'd and beheaded, and had all his Estate confiscate and reduc'd into the publick Exchequer; at which time *Origen* was seventeen Years of Age, and during his Father's Imprisonment, knowing how much he was concern'd at the Thoughts of leaving his Wife and Children in such a poor deplorable Estate, he by Letters passionately exhorted him to persevere unto Martyrdom, adding

only for Christ's sake depriv'd of his Father, but of all manner of Subsistence; and yet under these Straits of Poverty he made such a Proficiency in Holiness, that he is reported to have suffer'd very often, as well as very much, for the Confession of Christ.

Nor were these the only Qualifications which render'd him so considerable a Temptation; for besides, he had such a Power of Wit, and withal such Depth of Learning, and was so smart, and so fine in his Expressions, that in Accomplishments of this kind there was hardly any in the World could come near him. In short, he had such a Stock of Knowledge, and was so universally Read, that there were but few things in Theology, and hardly any thing in Philosophy, but he was perfectly Master of. And ^h when his extensive Genius had conquer'd

adding this clause among the rest, "Ἐπεχε, μὴ δι ἡμᾶς ἀλλό τι
γεγνήσθη. Take heed, O my Father, that for our sakes you do not
change your Mind." Euseb. Eccl. lib. 6. cap. 2. His Father being
dead, and the Estate seiz'd for the Emperor's use, a rich Matron
of Alexandria took compassion on him, and supported him as she
had done others, among whom there was one Paul of Antioch,
the Ringleader of all the Hereticks at Alexandria; but tho' Origen
had his Subsistence from this Lady, yet would he never comply
with her Favourite and adopted Son Paul, no not so much as to
join in Prayer with him; when Multitudes, not only of Hereticks,
but of the Orthodox came daily flocking to him, being much ta-
ken with the Eloquence of the Man; for from his Childhood he
had religiously observ'd the Rule and Canon of the Church, and
abominated (as he himself tells us) all Heretical Doctrines. Vid.
Euseb. ibid. p. 203.

^h *Cujus Scientia, cum Gracia cederet, Hebreā quoque elaborata
sunt.]* After he had made himself perfectly Master of the Greek
Language, he set himself to learn the Hebrew, as the true Key to
let him into the Knowledge of the Old Testament, wherin as St. Je-
rome seems to intimate, Apol. adv. Ruffin. Tom. 2. p. 201. he was
assisted

quer'd Greece, he made his Attacks upon the Hebrew Learning with the same Success. And for his Eloquence, what shall I say? His Discourses are so pleasing, so soft, and withal so very sweet, that methinks 'tis Honey, rather than Words, comes flowing from his Lips. He was so wonderfully well skill'd in the Art of Persuasion, that he could reason a Man almost into any thing; what Difficulties could he not conquer, and make the most formidable Obscurities most easie and intelligible? But Disputation perhaps was his main Talent, and he advanc'd his Opinions meerly by the Subtlety of his Reason. No such thing, indeed, for no one Doctor ever abounded more in Proofs from Scripture. But perhaps he wrote but little.ⁱ No mortal alive ever writ more; so very Voluminous he is, that a Man will find it Employment enough to pick up his Writings, and more than he can do to read 'em

assisted by *Huillus* the Jewish Patriarch at that time; and how great a Conquest he made of this Language, little understood in his time, and the place he liv'd in, may be easily guess'd at by that prodigious Performance of his, tho' now lost, stil'd by the Ancients *Opus Ecclesia, the Work of the Church*; wherein he collected and collated the several Editions and Versions of the Old Testament with the original Text, and which he finish'd by three several Parts, the *Tetrapla*, the *Hexapla*, and the *Octapla*.

ⁱ *Nemo mortalium plura.*] *Epiphanius, Hæref.* 64. p. 256. tells us that it was commonly reported that he wrote six thousand Volumes, the greatest Part of which being understood of Epistles and single Homilies, the Account will not be above Credit, nor needed have occasion'd so much wrangling between *Ruffinus* and *Jerom*, the latter of which point-blank denies, that ever himself had read, or that *Origen* wrote so many. *Vincentius* affirms that no Man ever wrote so much as he, and that all his Books could not only not be read, but not so much as be found out by any; for which reason he was call'd *Syntacticus*, or the *Composer*.

all

all over. And that nothing might be wanting to complete his Knowledge, with all these Talents he had the Advantage of a very long Life to ripen him to Perfection. But as great a Master as he was, he ^{*} might be perhaps a little unhappy in his Scholars. No one happier on this account; for he had a world of Doctors, Bishops, Confessors and Martyrs came out of his School. He was indeed the Wonder of the Age, and how much he was esteem'd and careſſ'd by all, is hard to tell. There was hardly a Man of more than ordinary Piety, but came postling from all parts of Christendom to consult him. What Christian did not look upon him in a manner as a Prophet? and what Philospher did not reverence him as a Master? And in what Repute he was, not only among Persons of a private Rank, but also at Court, we may learn from those Hi-

^{*} *Sed forsitan Discipulis parum felix?*] The most noted of the Gentile Philosophers, whom he brought over to the Christian Faith, were *Plutarch*, whom he attended to his Martyrdom, and had like to have been kill'd by the People for being the Author of his Conversion; *Serenus*, who was burnt for his Religion; *Heraclides* and *Heron*, both beheaded, the one when but a *Catechumen*, the other a Novice; another *Serenus*, who after infinite Torments lost his Head. And one *Hera*is a Woman and *Catechumen*, baptiz'd by Fire, (as he expresses it) went in Flames to Heaven. *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 4.* Great Numbers of *Hereticks* were his Auditors likewise, some of whom he set right in the Faith again, and among others, *Ambrosius*, a Man of Estate and Quality at *Alexandria*, who had been seduc'd into the Errors of *Marcion* and *Valentinus*, was convinc'd by *Origen*, and return'd to the Catholick Doctrine, and for ever after became his fast Friend and Benefactor. *Euseb. l. 6. cap. 18.* And to mention no more, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and his Brother *Athenodorus* were under his Tutorage for five Years. *Euseb. l. 6. c. 30.*

stories that¹ report him to have been sent for by the Mother of *Alexander* the Emperor upon the Account of his heavenly Wisdom, which was a Thing she was passionately desirous of being instructed in. Besides, his own Epistles to^m *Philip*, the first *Roman* Christian Emperor, are another Testimony of his Interest at Court, for those Epistles are written with the Authority of a Christian Master.

But if the Testimony of a Christian may not pass for good Proof of his incredible Abilities, that I hope of a *Pagan* Philosopher will

¹ *Eum a Matre Alexandri Imperatoris accitum ferunt.*] This *Mammae* the Mother of *Alexander Severus*, was a *Syrian* born, and consequently could not be unacquainted with the Affairs either of *Jews* or *Christians*, and having heard of the great Fame of *Origen*, was very desirous to see him, and hear him discourse concerning Religion, that she might know what it was for which the whole World had him in such Veneration. For which purpose she sent for him, ordering a Military Guard to conduct him safe to *Antioch*, where he stay'd for some time, and fully opened the Doctrines of Religion, to her great Satisfaction, he was permitted to return to his old Charge at *Alexandria*. *Euseb. lib. 6. c. 21.*

^m *Ad Philippum Imperatorem qui primus Romanorum Principum Christianus fuit.*] *Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 36.* Mentions a Letter of *Origen*, then extant to the Emperor *Philip*, and another to his Wife *Severa*, and *cap. 34*, expressly calls him *Christian*, and gives an account how Bishop *Babylas* refus'd him Admittance into the Church till he had qualify'd himself by due Repentance, as other common Offenders were oblig'd to do, to which Discipline he submitted. The same Story is reported by the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicon*, and *Chrysostom* in his *Oration de Sancto Babyla contra Gentiles*, tells the same thing, but mentions no i the Emperor by Name. And the learned Publisher of some Tracts of *Origen*, *Rod. Weesleinius Præfat. in Orig. Dial. contr. Marc. &c. a se edit. Basil. 1674.* Defends the same History; but our learned Dr. *Cave* does not believe him to have been a *Christian*, and has given his Reasons why he doth not. *Vid. Primit. Christianity, cap. 3. part. 1. p. 48.* whither I refer the Reader.

never be suspected. ^a The impious *Porphyry* then reports, that being rouz'd with the Fame of *Origen*, he took a Journey to *Alexandria* when he was very young, to see the Man, and accordingly there he saw him an old Man; but such an old Man, of such Brightness even in declining Age, that he seem'd to be the publick Storehouse of Arts and Sciences. But the Time would fail me before I could barely touch upon all the glaring Accomplishments of that wonderful Person. All which notwithstanding, as they made very much to the Honour of Christianity, so did they all likewise contribute to make him a Temptation of the first Magnitude. For what Man alive could easily disengage himself from such a Temptation, from a Person of such fine Parts, of such ad-

^a *Ait namque impius ille Porphyrius, &c.]* For a Pagan to be thus curious in taking a Journey on purpose to see a Christian, for so learned a Man as *Porphyry*, and so bitter an Enemy to the *Faith* as he was, to be at so much Pains to visit *Origen*, and to give such grinning Commendations, and forc'd Compliments, as the known and celebrated Abilities of that Christian Philosopher plainly extorted from him, as it was the greatest Panegyrick possible upon *Origen*; so was it also (as our Author observes) a very great Honour to the Christian Profession, and wip'd off a very popular Objection, *That none but Fools were Christians*. But in the Account of *Porphyry*, as we have it in *Eusebius*, lib. 6. cap. 19. from some Passages quoted out of *Porphyry* there are two notorious Falsities, which at the same time shew both the Disingenuity of the Man, and the Weakness of his Cause; for he asserts that *Origen's* Master, the renowned *Ammonius* was born and bred a Christian, but that upon his entring on Philosophy, he renounc'd Christianity and turn'd Pagan; and that *Origen* was born and bred up a Gentile, and then turn'd off to Christianity; when as nothing was more evident, than that *Origen* was born of Christian Parents, and that his Master *Ammonius* retain'd the Christian Philosophy to the end of his Life, whereof the Books he left behind him were a standing Evidence.

mirable Learning, and universal Applause all the World over, and would not rather be apt to countenance his Error with this Saying, [¶] That he would sooner choose to go wrong with Origen, than right with others? But what need I urge more? The Matter in short came to this, that this accomplish'd Person, this celebrated Doctor and Prophet, prov'd in the end a most dangerous and more than human Temptation, and led aside very many Christians from the Form of sound Words. For [¶] this

^{¶ Se cum Origene errare malle, quam cum aliis vera sentire.]}
These are the Words of Tully in his first Book of Tusculan Questions, spoken of Plato, and by our Author apply'd to Origen; it is an excessive Strain, because it shews a greater Devotion to Party than Truth; and something like that Flight of Lucan,

Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed viusta Catoni.

Where he has spoil'd his Character, and crack'd his Compliment, by straining it beyond the due Size and Decorum of Nature, by making Cato better than the Gods.

^{¶ Quamobrem hic Origenes tantus ac talis, dum gratia Dei insolenti's abutitur, dum ingenio suo nimium indulget, &c.]} There never was perhaps a greater Genius, a Man more richly furnish'd by Nature, and perfected by severer and longer Study than Origen was, he had a prodigious Capacity of Mind, with a proportionate Heat, and an insatiable Thirst after universal Knowledge, and an ungovernable Passion to search into the most abstruse and incomprehensible Mysteries of Divinity; and by giving way to a Lawless Fancy, and by Writing at full speed, and as fast as Nature would carry him spur'd on by all the Assurances of Art, and the Application of Friends, and by trusting too much to his Waxen Wings, and soaring above the Simplicity of the Gospel, and the ancient Rules of Faith, he fell into very gross Errors, and is a most instructing Example to Posterity to think soberly, and not affect to be wiser than all before us in Matters of Religion; for tho' Origen was so great and so good a Man, and tho' he took such Pains from his Youth to be a Martyr, and to serve God in the most trying Instances of Mortification Poverty Self-denial, writing Night and Day, and travelling from place to place, to make Proselytes, yet his affected Singularity and untutor'd Curiosity seduc'd him into such erroneous Doctrines as the largest Charity cannot cover.

same

same *Origen*, as great a Man as he was, yet by wantonly abusing the divine Graces, by an overfond Indulgence of his Wit, and presuming too far upon his own Self-sufficiency, while he made Slight of the ancient Simplicity of the Christian Religion, while he affected to be wiser than all before him, while he undervalu'd the Traditions of the Church, and the Instructions of his Forefathers, he fell upon a new way of interpreting some Passages of Scripture, for which the Church of Christ might deservedly take up that of *Moses* against *Origen*; *If a Prophet shall arise among you, &c. Thou shalt not hear the words of that Prophet, because the Lord your God tempts you to prove whether you love him sincerely or not.*

And this in truth was not only a Temptation, but a Temptation of the largest Size, especially to a Church devoted as it were to his Person, dependent on his Authority, and struck with the Charms of his Wit, his Learning, his Eloquence and the Graces of his Conversation; and which never fear'd, never dream'd of the least Danger from her beloved *Origen*; no marvel then that a Man of such Accomplishments, should be able to seduce his Admirers by little and little from the ancient Faith into a Compliance with the Novelty of his specious Opinions. But it may be objected, *that the Books of Origen are corrupted.* With all my Heart; for no one wishes the Truth of this, more than I do; and this, I

Y 4 say,

say, is reported by some, and written by others; and those too not Catholicks only, but Hereticks. But then I must say, that tho' he himself is not, yet the Books set forth under his Name are a very great Temptation; they are read as his, and for his sake they are careſſ'd and lov'd; for they overflow with fatal Blasphemies, which are not consider'd as the Corruptions of other Men, but read and careſſ'd as his. So that tho' *Origen* had no Hand in the framing of the Heresies father'd upon him, yet *Origen's Authority* gives them Credit, and makes 'em pass for current in the World.

^r *Nam id a quibusdam & traditum & Scriptum est, non a Catholice tantum sed etiam hereticis.]* Vincentius seems to have drawn up a just and impartial Character of this wonderful Person, and willing to make all the Allowances for him imaginable, that are consistent with the Safety of his Reader; but the Reputation of the Man, and the notorious Errors in his Books (however they came there) made him guard against 'em with a becoming Zeal and Moderation. *Origen* had many Enemies, and so great a Cry was rais'd against him, that the very Mention of his Name in the Greek Church is abominable to this Day. He had his Friends and Compurgators likewise, especially *Pamphilus* the Martyr, and *Eusebius*, who publish'd an Apology in six Books in his behalf; the first five were written by *Pamphilus*, with *Eusebius's Assistance* while they were in Prison, the last finish'd and added by *Eusebius* after the other's Martyrdom. Besides which, *Photius* tells us there were many other famous Men who wrote Apologies for him. *Cod. 118. col. 297.* who ever has a mind to see the Notions for which *Origen* is so heavily charg'd by some of the Ancients, may find 'em all fully, clearly, solidly, and impartially examin'd by *Monsieur Huit* in his *Origeniana*, and many of 'em fairly and candidly accounted for, acknowledg'd, and pitied by our learned Dr. *Cave*, according to his usual Integrity and Charity, in his Life of *Origen*: However, after all the worst of his Enemies can lay to his Charge, yet he afterwards repented of what he had rashly and unadvisedly written, as appears by his Epistle to *Fabian Bishop of Rome. Ap. Hieron. p. 193. Vid. Ruffin. Inveſt. 1. in Hieron. Inter oper. Hieron. T. 4. p. 219.*

C H A P. XXIV.

Tertullian's Character, his Fall, and the evil Consequences of it.

Tertullian is just such another signal Instance of Temptation; for what Origen was in the Greek, that was Tertullian in the Latin Church; without dispute the most considerable Writer of his Age. For what more learned than this Man? Who more expert either in divine, or human Literature? For all Philosophy, all the Sects of Philosophers, the Founders and Followers of those Sects, all their several Institutions, with all the Variety of Histories and Law, all this huge Store of Learning he compriz'd in the amazing Capacity of his Mind. He was so excellent at Satyr, and of that solid Judgment, that he hardly laid Siege to any thing, but he soon made it yield, either by the Penetration of his Wit, or the Weight of his Reason. Nay, who has Learning enough barely to do Justice to his Learning? For his Discourses are set so thick with powerful Reasons, that whom he cannot persuade by Eloquence, he compels by Argument; he has almost as many Sentences as Words, and ev'ry Sentence is sure of Victory. The Marcionites, Apellites, Praxeans, Hermogeneans, Jews, Gentiles, Gnosticks, &c. have all felt the weight of his Reason, for he has batter'd down their Heresies with his many and

and mighty Volumes, as with so much Thunder. Yet after all this, the same Man, this very *Tertullian*, by being but moderately Tenacious of the Catholick Doctrine, that is, the ancient universal Faith, and by being truer to the Rules of Eloquence than to the Rule of Faith, turn'd Heretick in the end, insomuch, that the *Confessor St. Hilary* had good reason to say, *That his latter Errors took off from the Credit and Authority of the former and most approv'd of his Writings.* And not only his Writings, but he himself also was a very great Temptation to the Church; but I don't care for dwelling longer upon the Subject, and therefore shall only remind you, that by complying with the novel Reveries of ¹ *Montanus* against the Order of *Moses*, and by vouching the Dreams of his Fanatick Female Followers to be true Prophecies, *Tertullian* also deserves to have it said both of him and his Writings, *If a Prophet shall arise among you, &c. Thou shalt not barken unto the Words of that Prophet.* But

¹ *Novellas Montani furias, &c. insana illa Insanarum mulierum novitii Dogmatis somnia, &c.*] The Women here referr'd to, are *Prisca* & *Maximilla*, two noted Disciples of *Montanus*, whom he first corrupted, and then imparted to them his *Demon*; whereby they were convuls'd into very strange unnatural Postures, and in their extatrick mad Fits ran at Mouth in prodigious incoherent unintelligible Jargon. When the proud Impostor *Montanus* set up, what his Principles were, how so great a Person as *Tertullian* was, who had prescrib'd so excellently well against Hereticks, and laid down such admirable Rules for the Preservation of a sound Faith, came at last to go after this *Dreamer of Dreams*, and to espouse the Delusion to his dying Day, I have already accounted for. In defence of the *Montanists* against the *Orthodox* he compos'd his Book of *Modesty*, of *Monogamy*, his Exhortation to *Chastity*, and his Treatise of *Fasts*.

why?

why? Because the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love him or not. From this great Number of Examples, and those too of the greatest Quality, and from many others of the same kind, together with that Declaration of Moses in *Deuteronomy*, we ought certainly to conclude, that if any Doctor of the Church at any time shall deviate from the Faith, that he is permitted by Providence so to do, in order to give us a sensible Proof, whether we love God or no, with all our Heart, and with all our Soul.

C H A P. XXV.

The Description of a Catholick, and the Condition of such as are for Novelties in Faith.

THIS now being the end of Providence in such Temptations, he only is a true Genuine Catholick, who loves the Word of God, and his Church, the mystical Body of Christ, above all other Considerations in the World; who values neither the Authority, nor Love, nor Wit, nor Eloquence, nor Philosophy of any Man breathing, in comparison of his divine Religion, and the Faith of the Catholick Church; but upon all these things looks down with Contempt, and fix'd and immoveable in the Faith resolves to believe nothing upon the Authority of one single Man, but

but what he finds anciently and universally to have been believ'd by the Catholick Church ; and whatever upstart, unheard of Doctrine he finds to be clandestinely introduced in opposition to all the Faithful, let him look upon that as a Matter of Temptation, rather than an Article of Faith ; and this Advice of mine will then especially appear more reasonable, when he reflects upon that of St. Paul in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where he declares, *That there must be also Heresies, that they which are approved, may be made manifest among you.* As if he should have said, this is the Reason why God does not interpose miraculously, and destroy Hereticks in a Moment, that the *Approved may be made manifest*, that is, that every firm, faithful, and constant Lover of the Catholick Faith under such a Temptation might be a more shining Example to the World of the true Power of Godliness. And in truth, when any new born Heresie first shews its Head in the Church, the good Grain is then soon discover'd by its Weight, and the Chaff by its Lightness ; and then upon the sifting Temptation, that submits to the first Wind which had no Solidity to secure it in the Floor. For some fly off immediately, others are shock'd only, and turn *Occasionalists*, being afraid of perishing out of the Church, and yet at the same time ashamed of returning perfectly into it, *wounded, half dead, and half alive, and just in the Condition of those Men who have taken such a Dose of Poison as will neither destroy, nor be digested, neither let them die nor live.* Pitiable

*1 Cor. 11.
19.*

able Condition ! For with what Whirlwinds, what Tides of restless Passion are such Wretches agitated ? one while they are transported with every Wind of Doctrine ; another while they return and fall foul upon themselves, and like conflicting Waves, are dash'd to Pieces by their own contrary Motions ; this Moment they are confident in Uncertainties, and the Moment after as irrationally fearful where no Fear is ; unknowing where to go, where to return ; what to desire, and what to deprecate ; what to receive, and what relinquish. Nevertheless, this unhappy Vibration and Instability of Mind points to its own Cure, if Men would but wisely consider the merciful Design of Providence in this very Affliction. For therefore, whilst without the Haven of the Catholick Faith, are they thus afflicted, thus toss'd and shatter'd almost to pieces with inward Storms of clashing Thoughts, that by this restless Posture of Mind, being made sensible of the Danger they are in, and their distance from Salvation, they might take down those Sails of Pride and Vanity which they have unhappily spread before every Gust of Heresie, and make all the Sail they can into the safe and peaceful Harbour of their holy Mother, the Catholick Church ; and there being *Sea-sick* as it were with Errors, discharge those foul and bitter Waters, to make room for the pure Waters of Life. There they may unlearn well, all they have learnt ill, and get a right Notion of

all

all those Doctrines of the Church they are capable of understanding, and believe those that pass all understanding.

C H A P. XXVI.

*The Character and Sin of Innovators in
Matters of Religion.*

THE oftner I reflect upon these Things, the more am I astonish'd at the Extravagance of some Men, at that Complication of Impiety and Blindness; in a word, at that strange insatiable Lust after Novelty in Religion, that they cannot rest contented with the old Rule of Faith once deliver'd and deposited in the Primitive Church, but must be every Day upon new Re-searches, and are never well but when they are adding, altering, or curtailing Christianity; as if the Doctrine was not from Heaven, nor one Revelation sufficient; but only a Human Institution, which could not possibly be perfected but by mending it every Day; or to speak more truly, by picking Holes in it every Day. And yet the Divine Oracles, both in the Old and New Testament, loudly remonstrate against all such alterations: *Remove not the ancient Land-mark which thy Fathers have set.*

Prov. 22.
28.

Eccles. 8. 4. And judge not thy Judge, or, say unto him
Eccles. 10. 8. what dost thou? And who so breaketh an Hedge

a Serpent shall bite him. And so likewise that severe Charge of the Apostle, which has often been, and always will be, as it were the Spiritual Sword, to Lop off the sprouting Heresies of every Age: The Charge is this, O^r Timo-^{1 Tim. 6.} thy, keep that which is committed to thy Trust,^{20, 21.}
avoiding

[O Timothee depositum custodi, &c.] Tho' I have not taken much notice of the French Translator De Frontignieres, yet 'tis pity, methinks, to pass over his curious Remark upon this Text. The Doctors of the Church (says he) are strictly oblig'd to preserve the Primitive Depositum entire, without the least Change or Alteration; and then he produces St. Paul for an Example of Integrity, and tells us the great Care he took to prevent all Abuses in the Eucharist amongst the Corinthians, and to deliver it to them just as he had receiv'd of the Lord. For I have received of the Lord that which also I deliver'd to you, that the Lord Jesus the same Night that he was betrayed took Bread, and when he had given Thanks he brake it, and said, Take, Eat, this is my Body which is broken for you, this do in remembrance of me. And putting these last Words in distinct Characters, he goes on and says, that St. Paul delivered this sacred Depositum whole and inviolate to the Corinthians: He did not say, Receive the Sign or Figure of the Body of Christ, but the true Real Body of Christ; and in consequence of this infallible Truth the Apostle concludes, Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this Bread, &c. After this he discharges his Powder, and makes a very loud and empty Noise against Calvin; and having done his Busines as he fancies, cries out in Triumph, Behold the Depositum committed to him, to deliver such only as he had receiv'd, but he has been an Unfaithful or rather a Sacrilegious Depositary; he has alter'd the Divine Depositum; instead of Seven Sacraments he has return'd but Two. With some more Harangue to the same Tune, without any offer at a Proof. But O thou that abhorrest not Idols, dost thou commit Sacrilege, and at the same time too as thou accusest Calvin? For when St. Paul tells us, He receiv'd from the Lord, that after the same manner as Christ took the Bread, he took the Cup also, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood, this do ye as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me; this special Trustee returns but half the Depositum; for putting these Words Take, Eat, this is my Body, which is broken for you, this do in remembrance of me, in distinguishing Characters for the better Impression upon the Reader, the two following Verses which command the drinking this Cup, as often as the eating this Bread, he not only not puts in Italick, but leaves 'em quite out, and steps from the

avoiding profane and vain bablings, and oppositions of Science falsely so called, which some Professing have erred concerning the Faith. And yet

24th verse, *I Cor. xi.* to the Conclusion, *Wherefore, ver. 27.* Now this by no means is a cleanly Conveyance; for the *Legerdemain* is so gross, that every Reader must see that his Reason for skipping over those two Verses must be in Compliance with his Church, which for some time has robb'd the People of the Cup there commanded to be drank of by All who eat the Bread. As for those Words, *This is my Body*, which he bestows peculiar Characters upon, and for the not Understanding of which in a literal Sense he calls *Calvin* Sacilegious, we have this in short to say for our selves; That this Bread, *Luke xxii. 19.* is call'd Christ's *Body broken, his Body given*, even whilst Christ was alive, and consequently his *Body* not actually broken nor given, but only by way of Representation of that *Body* which was shortly to be broken upon the Cross; and so his *Blood* whilst yet in his Veins, is said to be his *Blood shed*, *Matth. xxvi. 8. Mark xiv. 24, &c.* St. Paul likewise Five times calls that *Bread*, which our Lord calls his *Body*; and we think it wonderfully strange, that a single Passage mention'd by Christ whilst he was alive in the Flesh, should be look'd upon sufficient to make us believe, that this living Christ was at the same time dead and sacrific'd, that his *Hand* with all the rest of his *Body*, was in his *Hand*, and that his *Body* which was whole before their Eyes was at the same time broken for them; and that they were to do this in Remembrance of him, when he was Present before them. We think likewise that the *Cup* is to be communicated to all, because 'tis the *Blood of the Covenant* which equally belongs to all, and because we are to shew forth the *Lord's Death till he come*, and to remember his *Blood shed*, as well by drinking the *Cup*, as his *Body broken* by eating the *Bread*; and that which Christ has so join'd, no Man ought to put asunder. We say likewise, that if the *Apostles* receiv'd from Christ *Seven Sacraments* with set Forms and Matter, like those of *Baptism* and the *Eucharist*, for our perpetual Observation, they were not faithful *Depositaries*; for we can find but Two in their Writings, and their immediate Successors could find no more: For when *Justin Martyr* at the end of the *Apology* here translated, gives the *Particulars* of the *Christian Worship*, he mentions only the Two Sacraments of *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*; and with all expressly says, That the *Wine* was mingled with *Water* and distributed alike to all. Nor do the *Romish* Writers agree in the Number of *Sacraments*. *Durandus* denies *Matrimony* to be a *Sacrament*, *I. 4. d. 26. q. 3.* *Ca-nus* speaks ambiguously of it, *I. 8. c. 5.* And *Alexander of Hales* saith there are Four *Sacraments* only. *part 4. q. 5. memb. 2. art. I. q. 5. memb. 3. art. 2. q. 9. memb. 2. art. 2.*

Yet after all this, there are some such hardy Veterans in Wickedness, of that brazen Effrontery and irrefragable Obsturacy, as to stand Proof against all this powerful Impression of Scripture; Men who will capitulate upon no Terms of Reason, nor be touch'd by the most shocking Arguments, nor be dismay'd (to say no more) by the most terrible Menaces from Heaven. But to proceed; *Avoid* (says St Paul) *profane novel Bablings*: He did not say, *avoid the old Primitive Doctrines*, but just the contrary; for if *Novelty* is to be avoided, *Antiquity* is to be retain'd; if *Novelty* is Profane, *Antiquity* is Sacred. But the Apostle goes on and adds, *Oppositions of Science falsely so called*. A most true Character of the Doctrines of Hereticks, who set a Gloss upon their Ignorance with the Title of Science, and call Darkness Light, and Light Darkness. *Which some*, says he, *professing have erred concerning the Faith*. Professing what? why, some New, strange, unheard of Doctrines; for this is the Cant of these Professors to the Catholicks. ^t *Come hither, O ye unwise and simple Wretches, come to our*

I cannot therefore think it prudently done of some Papists to call *Protestants sacrilegious Knaves*, because it is so easy a Matter to call Names again, and to throw Arguments at 'em into the Bargain; and prove, that we, in the Phrase of *Vincentius*, return the *Gold* we receiv'd, in its Primitive Purity; and that the Papists have put the *Divine Image* and *Superscription* upon *Tin* and *Copper*, upon mere human Dross and Invention. But of this stamp, size and fineness, are almost all the curious Remarks of *Monsieur De Pronsignieres* upon this Author.

^t *Venite, O Insipientes, & Miseri, qui vulgo Catholici vocantini, & discite fidem veram, quam prater nos nullus intelligit, &c.]* An old Form of Faith, old Forms of Prayers and establish'd Rites and Ceremo-

our Meetings, O ye that love to go by the Name of Catholicks, and here learn the true and saving Faith, which none are gifted to understand but those

Ceremonies, are cold things to some People who judge of their Religion by the Circulation of their Blood, and never think themselves well with God but when they are in Fits and Extasies ; when they are in the *Spirit*, in their *Unions* and *Communions*, their *Visions* and *Illuminations*, and serving the Lord according to the full Scope of their Fancies. The Arch-Hereticks therefore of Old cut out their Heresies to the Size of such Warm and Weak People ; they took care never to stint such unruly Spirits by severity of Discipline and Order ; but gratify'd their itching Ears with Novelties, promis'd Mountains of Discoveries with such marvellous Edification in their *Meetings*, as the like was never heard of in the *Catholick Churches*. But because we so often meet with the Ways and Wiles of Hereticks in this Treatise, I shall once for all set down an admirable Account of 'em, as I find it in *Tertullian's Prescription* towards the Conclusion, cap. 41, 42, 43, &c. " In the first place " then (among Hereticks) 'tis not easy to distinguish who are *Catechumens* and who the *Faithful* ; there is no distinction among " 'em, but they come, and hear, and pray all together in a heap ; " nay, if *Heathens* happen to fall in with 'em, they cast the *Holy* " *Thing* to Dogs ; and Pearls, tho' not true Pearls, to Swine. The " Prostitution of all Discipline they call the Simplicity of the Go- " spel, and our Concern for Discipline they will have to be a " running a Whoring after our own Inventions. They are Men of " such extensive Moderation as to keep Peace with all Men ; for " however they may disagree among themselves, they are all una- " nimously against the Truth ; and if they can but batter down " that, they rest themselves very well contented. They are all " hugely puffed up : They all promise Mountains of Knowledge. " Their *Catechumens* commence complete Christians before In- " struction. Your *Female-Hereticks*, how Petulant are they ? They " take upon 'em to teach, to dispute, to exorcise, to heal the Sick, " nay, perhaps to baptize too. How rash, how fickle and incon- " stant are they in their Ordinations ? Sometimes they admit mere " *Novices*, sometimes Men incumber'd with Secular Affairs, some- " times *Apostates* from us ; that they may oblige those with Titles " whom they cannot oblige with the Truth : A Man never fares " better than in the Camps of Rebels ; where to be only, is to be " Meritorious ; and therefore to Day they have one *Bishop*, to Mor- " row another ; he is a Deacon to Day, who to Morrow is a Rea- " der ; a Presbyter to Day, who to Morrow shall be a Laick again. " For they prostitute the Sacerdotal Functions even to Lay-men.

those of our Way only ; a Mystery that has been hidden from the World for many Ages, and graciously revealed but of late to the Lord's People ; but you must be content to learn this Faith privately and by stealth, and then you will find it wondrous sweet and edifying. And moreover I must advise you to teach it with the same Privacy as you learnt it, and be sure that it comes not to the Ears of the World, nor that the Church knows one Syllable of the Mystery : For 'tis given but to few to know the Secrets of the Lord. But is not this the very Invitation of the Con-

" What shall I say of the Administration of the Word among 'em, " when 'tis their only Business, not to convert the Heathen, but to " pervert our People ? They reckon it more for their Honour to " pull down those that stand, than to lift up those that are down ; " for 'tis their whole Employment, not to repair their own " Breaches, but to demolish Truth. They dig up our Foundations " that they may build upon the Ruines. And if you will but " allow 'em in this destructive Employment they are your Humble " Servants, a kind, gentle and condescending People. But to their " own Bishops they know no Reverence ; and this is the Reason we " never hear of Schisms among Hereticks : For when Schisms arise " they pay no deference to Authority ; but Schism with them is " Unity. And I am very much mistaken if they are govern'd by " any Rules even of their own making : But every one Models the " Doctrines he has receiv'd according to his Fancy, as the first " Founder fram'd 'em to his, and to serve his own Turn. In a " word, if you search narrowly into all sorts of Heresies, you will " find that they differ in many Things from the first Authors of " their Sect. They have few of 'em any Churches ; but without " Mother, without See, without the Faith ; they wander about " like banish'd Men, without House or Home. The Conversation " of Hereticks is notorious, almost continually with Magicians, " with Juglers, with Astrologers, with Philosophers ; for Curio- " sity must be gratify'd. Seek and you shall find, with them is a " Precept never to be forgotten. Now from such kind of Con- " versation you may judge of the Quality of their Faith ; for " Discipline is a sure Indication of Doctrine. They deny that " God is to be fear'd, and then what should hinder them from " giving a loose to every evil Imagination and Appetite con- " tinually ?

Prou. 9. 15, tisane in the Proverbs of Solomon, Calling to
 16, 17, 18. the Passengers who go right on their Way, Who-
 so is simple let him turn in hisher, and as for
 those who want Understanding, she saith unto
 them, stolen Waters are sweet, and Bread eaten
 in secret is pleasant. But what are the Words
 following? why, He knoweth not that the dead
 are there, and that her Guests are in the Depths
 of Hell. And who are the dead, but those
 whom the Apostle says, have erred concerning
 the Faith.

C H A P. XXVII.

St. Paul's foregoing Charge to Timothy
 more particularly expounded and ap-
 ply'd.

BUT in my Opinon 'tis worth while to re-
 view the apostolick Charge, and to weigh
 every Word in it a little more exactly. O Ti-
 mothy, keep that which is committed to thy Trust,
 avoiding profane and vain Bablings, &c. O! in
 this place is an Exclamation, issuing forth from
 a prophetick Spirit as well as a charitable
 Heart; for the Apostle foresaw that Heresies
 would be, and he could not forbear crying out
 at the Misery in Prospect. But what then is
 to be understood now by Timothy? Why,
 either the universal Church in general, or the
 whole

whole body of Bishops in particular^u, who ought to be perfectly well skill'd in the whole Science of Christianity, in order to communicate that Divine Knowledge to others. But what then is imply'd in the Word *keep*? *Keep that which is committed to thy Trust*. Why, 'tis as much as if he should have said, *Keep it with all Diligence and Fidelity for fear of Thieves and Enemies*; for fear that while Men sleep, they come and sow Tares upon that good Wheat which the *Son of Man* has sown in his Field. *Keep that* (says the Apostle) *which is committed to thy Trust*. But what then is this *Depositum*? Why, 'tis something committed to you in Trust, and not a thing of your own Invention; what you have receiv'd, not what you have started; not the Issue of your own Brain, but a Doctrine put into your Hands; not a private Monopoly, but a publick Tradition; a Thing deposited with you, and not proceeding from you; wherein you ought to look upon your self not as a Proprietor, but a Guardian; not as a Master

^u *Vel specialiter totum Corpus Prepositorum.*] This must be either the whole body of Bishops, every one of which was a *Timo-*
thy, according to that of Cyprian, Ep. 69. *Unde scire debes, Epis-*
copum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo, & si qui cum Episcopo
non sint, in Ecclesia non esse. From whence you ought to conclude, that
the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop, and that
whoever is not with the Bishop is not in the Church: Or else by *Pre-*
positori we must understand the whole Body of the *Clergy*, according
to that of Ignatius, where speaking of the three Orders of *Bishop*,
Priest and *Deacon*, he says, *Xarei τύπον Ἐκκλησία εἰ καλεῖ*).
Ep. ad Trallian. sect. 3. Without these there is no such thing as a
Church, or it is not denominated a *Church*. A *Church* without a
Priest is a new *Edifice*, and the Contrivance of *modern Architects*
only.

but a Disciple; not as a Guide but a Follower. *Keep* (says the Apostle) this *Depositum*; that is, preserve this *Talent* of the *Catholick Faith* sacred and inviolable. Be a faithful Trustee of that committed to thy Charge, and refund what thou hast receiv'd. Gold thou hast receiv'd, Gold return, never go about, I charge you, to put off one thing for another, nor ever have the Impudence to face down the World with Lead for Gold; or the Knavery to impose upon it with the more specious appearance of Copper. Be sure to restore Gold, not in resemblance only, but real, true, pure Gold.

O *Timothy*, O Bishop, O thou Preacher or Teacher of the Word, if the Spirit of God has accomplish'd you with Skill, Dexterity and Wisdom, and all the other Gifts of a Master or Builder, be^w thou a *Bezaleel* of this *spiritual Tabernacle*, the Church of Christ; do thou, like a Divine Artist, polish the precious Jewels of this heavenly Doctrine; set them with Fi-

^w *Esto spiritualis Tabernaculi Bezaleel.*] This is plainly an allusion to that of *Exodus 31*. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, See, I have called by name Bezaleel, and I have filled him with the Spirit of God, in Wisdom, and in Understanding, and in Knowledge, and in all manner of Workmanship, &c. v. 1, 2, 3, &c.* The Tabernacle was a Type of the *spiritual Church of Christ*, whose Doctrine every *Bezaleel* or Christian Minister, is oblig'd to work upon with his utmost Ingenuity and Faithfulness; he is to consult the oldest and ablest Workmen in Divinity before him; he must be sure to build upon their Foundation, to polish their Jewels, to illustrate their Obscurities, to improve their Hints; and in a word, to set off ancient Truth to the best Advantage; that this whole spiritual Structure may stand upon the Primitive *Basis*, shew all the venerable Marks of Antiquity, and shine with all the additional Ornaments of good Sense and engaging Language: But this Metaphor is sufficiently explain'd and beautify'd by our Author.

delity

delity, and with all the Advantages of Wisdom ; and where you can, add Lustre, Grace and Beauty. But to speak more plainly ; In all your Expositions let it be your Business to set that only in a clearer Light, which was believ'd before but more obscurely ; let Posterity bless your Understanding for helping them to see that more perfectly which their Forefathers worshipp'd in the Dark. And lastly, Be sure that you teach the very same Things you have been taught ; and in such a manner too, that when you take the liberty of expressing your self after a new Mode , you deliver nothing New in Doctrine.

C H A P. XXVIII.

What kind of Improvement the Church of Christ is capable of.

BUT here then perhaps 'twill be ask'd,
 * *What, nothing new, must there be no Proficiency, no Improvement of Religion in the Christian Church?* Yes, without doubt, very much ; for

* *Nullus ne ergo in Ecclesia Christi Profectus habebitur Religionis ?* The Question here, is, *Whether the Christian Faith is capable of Increase and Growth ?* Our Author holds the Affirmative, and describes the Nature of that Growth by a very beautiful and lively Comparison of the Creed to the Members of an Infant, which, tho' they encrease and grow in Bulk, yet still remain *Homogenial*, or the same in Nature. He compares likewise the several *Articles* to several *Grains of Wheat* cast into the Ground, which in time shoot up into Blade, and Ear, and acquire a new Form and Appearance, but all this time grow and ripen without any change of Nature ; they multiply indeed, but not into *Tares*, or Weeds of another Species, but into good Grain of the same kind only. *Bel-larmine's*

for who can be so envious to Man, so profess'd an Enemy of God, as to labour against such Improvements? But then we must be sure not to change Christianity, under the Pretence of improving it: For to improve any thing to the utmost, is to enlarge that thing to the just Standard, and Perfection of its own Nature. On the other side, 'tis not so properly an Im-

Larmine's sixth Note of the Church, is *Conspiratio in Doctrina cum Ecclesiâ antiquâ. Agreement in Doctrine with the Primitive Church, de Not. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 240.* Bellarmine, in this Discourse, has with great Artifice declin'd making good this Note, by comparing the Doctrines of Rome with those of the Primitive Church, and chuses rather to pursue Luther and Calvin, and some others, thro' all the Paths of Calumny and Slander. And indeed when he expressly tells us, *That the Pope cannot err in Matters of Faith or Practice,* Bellar. de Rom. Pont. cap. 5. lib. 5. When he lodges the sole Power of declaring what Doctrines are Primitive, and what not, in the Sovereign Pontiff, I see no difference between making, and declaring new Articles; for we can no sooner appeal to any of the Ancients, but presently the Romish Doctors tell us, that the sole Power of declaring what is Primitive and Orthodox, is in their Hands; and if they think it convenient to call New Old, or Old New, we are oblig'd in Conscience to believe it. The Faith then of the Primitive Church, it seems, was an *Embryo*, containing all the Parts entire in Little, but was not grown to its full Bulk and Stature till the Council of Trent; just as a Man cannot be said to be at his full Growth and Perfection of Strength and Beauty, till he has a *Dropsy*, or the *Small Pox*; and yet, in spite of all the Disfigurements imaginable, he is exactly like the Man he always was. But if this *Embryo*, this *Faith in Little*, was sufficient for the Primitive Christians, why not for us? Why is a more *Explicit Faith*, and a more *Implicit Obedience* more necessary now, than of old, since all the essential Articles of Faith are at all times necessary to be believ'd? But after all, those Doctrines, I hope, that are contrary to the Doctrines of the Primitive Church, were not implicitly believ'd by it; the Worship of Angels, Saints, Relicks, Images, &c. were not in the *Seeds* of the Primitive Creed, which were to grow up by Degrees, and exfoliate into that prodigious Size, which is now pretended to be the genuine Issue, the natural Evolution from the first Apostolick Principles: For unless Error may be folded up in Truth, and one part of a Contradiction implicitly wrapp'd up in another, the *Trent Articles* cannot possibly be involv'd in the *ancient Creed*.
provement,

provement, as a Change, when we mix something Heterogeneous, and the thing ceases to be what it was in its own Nature, and becomes of another kind. 'Tis the Duty then of all, and every individual Christian in every Age of the Church, to encrease and grow in Understanding, Knowledge, and Wisdom ; but then they must continue Christians still, the Growth must be natural, in one and the same kind of Faith, in the same Meaning, and in the same Mind.

Let this then be our Rule, let our Minds grow in Religion, just as our Bodies grow in Bulk ; for these, tho' by degrees they exfoliate and disclose that perfect Symmetry of Parts they had before in Little, tho' they expand and enlarge their Size, yet continue the very same Bodies they were. There is a great Difference, 'tis true, between the Flower of Youth, and the Maturity of Age ; yet the Man in his Youth, and the Man in his old Age, is the same Man still ; and tho' his Stature and Looks may be alter'd, yet his Nature is the same, and he the very same Person he always was. Our Members in our Infancy are small, and in our Youth large, but for all this they are the very same Members still : For Infants have all the Parts of Men, and whatever we find produc'd by the Maturity of Age, is nothing but an Evolution of that which was in the Seed ; so that there is no new Perfection of Essence accrues to Man by growing old, he then has that only in Large, which he had before in Little.

From

From hence therefore 'tis evident, that this only is the just and regular way of encreasing the establish'd and beautiful Order of Growing, when we always retain the same Parts, and the same Figure; and Time does nothing else but spin out those Principles to their due Proportion, which the Wisdom of our Maker form'd in us from the Beginning. But now if the Human Shape shou'd grow deform'd, and at length degenerate into a Figure of another kind, or there shou'd be any Addition to, or any Diminution from, the just Number of Parts, such a Change, I say, must necessarily either ruine the whole Body, or make it monstrous, or certainly weaken it in a very great measure. In the same manner it is that the Christian Religion must grow; this is the Rule it must follow in its Proficiency and Improvement: It is to be corroborated by Years, it is by degrees to encrease to its just Breadth and Height; but in all this time of growing, it must continue pure and entire, and perfectly the same in all its several Parts and Members. But to speak more plainly, the Christian Faith must never admit of any Alteration in its essential Properties, either by Augmentation or Diminution, but its Definition or Essence must always continue one and the same.

C H A P. XXIX.

*A farther Account of what we are autho-
riz'd to do, towards the improving and
perfecting the Christian Religion.*

OUR Fathers then, for Instance, of old sow'd in the Field of the Church pure Wheat, that is, the Seeds, or Principles of the true Faith; and therefore it wou'd be extremely ^y impious, as well as odd in their Poste-
rity,

^y *Iniquum valde & incongruum est, ut nos eorum Posteri pro ger-
mana Veritate Frumenti, subdititium Zizania eligamus errorem.* Mr. De Frontignieres has been very liberal upon this Passage, and from the Chronological Table of Father Gautier, a Jesuit, has drawn up an Indictment consisting of a dozen Articles, all which (he says) are notorious Truths founded upon the Authority of Scripture, and the Primitive Church, and all which are oppos'd by Hereticks, that is, *Protestants*. The first notorious Truth set down as oppos'd by Hereticks, is, *Transubstantiation*; the second, is, the *Invocation of Saints*; the third, is, touching the *Use of Relicks and Images, and the Worship due unto them*; the fourth, is about *Free Will*; the fifth, concerning the *In sufficiency of Faith without Works*; the sixth, about the *Doctrine of Merit*; the seventh, concerning *Fasting, and the Abstinence from certain Meats, especially during the Time of Lent, in Obedience to the Orders of the Church*; the eighth, concerning the *Celibacy of Priests, &c.* the ninth, about the *Sacrament of Penance, and its Parts, and principally of Confession and Absolution*; the tenth, concerning *Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead*; the eleventh, about the *Primacy of St. Peter, and the Roman Church*; the twelfth, concerning the *Infallibility of that Church in her Decrees and Ordinances*. To all which he subjoins a Letter of Henry the 4th from Fontainebleau, dated May 18. 1609. wherein the grand Prince owns his Obligations to the *Jesuit*, and returns him Thanks for letting him into such wonderful Discoveries, and shewing the perfect Conformity between the *Roman Catholick* and the *Primitive Catholick Church*: And then he goes on with his Harangue, and declares, that *Vincentius*, and his *Remarks*, are an invincible Proof how faithfully they have adher'd to the ancient Doctrine, and how wickedly

rity, shou'd they instead of the Wheat, or the genuine Truth, reap only the Tares and Errors that are blended with it. But certainly 'tis most agreeable to right Reason, that the Pre-mises and the Deductions from thence shou'd be consistent, that from Wheat we shou'd gather Wheat, and from sound Principles collect sound Conclusions: So that every natural Evolution from the right Primitive Seed ought to be made much of and cultivated; only we must be sure to take care that there be nothing spurious in the Production, nothing of the true Nature of the Germ, or first Principle of Increase, chang'd and corrupted. Method, Beauty, and Clearness, and such kind of Embellishments, may be added to the Word of God; but then every

wickedly the *Calvinists* have innovated in the Points above-mention'd, and many others. At length, to sweeten these bitter and unjust Reflections, he concludes with a very loving Address of St. Austin to the *Innovators* of his Time; and all the good Words, and inviting Expressions, which that Father makes use of to reclaim the Hereticks then into the Unity of the Catholick Church, Mr. *De Frontignieres* thinks he has a just Title to apply for the Reduction of *Protestants* now into the Communion of the Church of *Rome*; but *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes*. But to tell us, we have nothing Ancient among us, but *Heresies*; that what we see to be good old *Primitive Wheat*, are old *Tares* only; to draw up an Indictment against *Protestants* of a dozen Articles, and not so much as offer at a Proof of any one single *Heresy* in the Charge, unless *Henry* the 4th's Letter is to pass for a Proof, is such a singular way of *Remarking* as proves nothing, but only upon what easy Terms some Men are *Papists*; and that their prime Method of gaining *Pro-selytes*, is, to cry out *Heresy*, *Heresy*; to make a great Noise, and make out nothing. We have over and over again told the Church of *Rome*, that we are always ready to be try'd by *Scripture*, *Antiquity*, and *Reason*, that we are willing to be led like rational Creatures, but that we are not dispos'd at present to deny our Senses, and put out our Eyes purely for the Benefit of a Leader, whose Infallibility and Honesty we have no very good Opinion of.

kind

kind must continue distinct and entire in its own proper Nature. God forbid, that what the Catholick Church hath planted, shou'd be corrupted, and their Nursery of Roses degenerate into Thorns and Thistles! God forbid, I say, that in the Church of Christ, our spiritual Paradise, we shou'd meet with any Pois'on, any deadly Graffs growing upon the *Cinnamon* or the *Balm-Tree*; whatever then was faithfully sown by the Fathers in the Church, which is the *Husbandry of God*, ought to be diligently observ'd and cultivated by the Sons; this must flourish and fructify, this must encrease and multiply, and be continually growing on to its proper Perfection. For succeeding Ages may set off, file, and polish the ancient Doctrines of this Divine Philosophy; but they must never change, never retrench, or mutilate any Thing; the Doctrines may admit of more Evidence, Clearness, and Distinction, but they must be inviolably preserv'd in their Full, Entire, Primitive Perfection.

For if Men are once tolerated to take that Freedom with the Faith, as to square it by their own Heads, I tremble to say, what will become of the whole Christian Religion in a very little Time: For having ² abdicated any one part

of

^a Abdicatā etenim qualibet parte Catholici Dogmatis, alia quoq;
atq; item alia, ac deinde alia &c alia jam quasi ex more & licito ab-
dicabuntur.] De Frontignieres, according to Custom, makes this
notable Remark here again; one wou'd think from this Passage
(says he) that *Vincentius* had a Prospect of the Evils that befel the
Church upon the Apostacy of *Luther*; for this *Apostate* first fell
foul upon the Indulgences and Pardons granted by *Leo X.* After
this, he renounc'd his Faith of a visible Head of the Church, and
par'd

of the Catholick Faith, they will proceed on to another and another; and then having gotten Custom and Precedents on their side, they

will

par'd off Article after Article; took away Free Will, the Merit of good Works, abolish'd Fasts, deny'd Transubstantiation, the Power of pardoning Sins, and what not? And from his School arose others, such as the *Calvinists*, who overtook their Master, and surpass'd him by much in all sorts of Innovation. But if *De Frontignieres* wou'd have prov'd that *Transubstantiation*, *Pardons*, *Indulgences*, &c. were the Doctrines of the Catholick Church in the Time of *Vincentius*, one wou'd have been more easily tempted to believe that he had a Prospect of the Evils that befel the Church upon *Luther's* Apostacy: But now if these were not the Doctrines of the Church in his Time, as I am sure they were not in the present Sense of the Church of *Rome*; if the taking away the *Cup* from the *Laiety* be confessedly a modern Amputation; if a *visible Infallible Judge*, with *Saint-Image-Relick-Worship*, and the other *Trent Determinations*, are all unprimitive and notorious Innovations, then I fear we may turn our *Remarkar's* Oratory upon himself, and with much better Reason say, that one wou'd be apt to think, that *Vincentius*, in this Passage, seems to have had a Fore-sight of the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, and that if the Pope can remove *Landmarks*, and decree new Articles of Faith, as I have just now prov'd from *Bellarmino*, then I ask with *Vincentius*, *What will follow*, but that the whole Christian Religion must lye at the Mercy of the Pope? But because this Passage has been frequently made ill use of by *Popish* Writers against *Protestants*, and particularly by *A. C.* against *Bishop Laud*; and because his Answer may let in some Light upon the following Discourse, I shall set it down at length.

" But *A. C.* tells us farther; That if one " may deny, or doubtfully dispute against any one Determination of the " Church, then he may against another, and another, and so against " all, &c. First, *A. C.* might have acknowledg'd, that he bor- " row'd the former part of this out of *Vincentius Livinensis*, *Abdi-* " *cata enim qualibet parte Catholici Dogmatis*, &c. And as that " learned Father uses it, I subscribe to it, but not as *A. C.* applies " it: For *Vincentius* speaks there *de Catholico Dogmate*, of Catho- " lick Maxims; and *A. C.* will force it to every Determination of " the Church. Now *Catholick Maxims*, which are properly Fun- " damental, are certain prime Truths deposited with the Church, " and not so much determin'd by the Church, as publish'd and " manifested, and so made firm by her to us. For so *Vincentius* " expressly, cap. 32. where all that the Church doth, is but, *ut hoc* " *idem quod antea*, that the same thing may be believ'd, which " was

will be for abdicating more and more every day; and what will be the Consequence at last of reforming away at this rate one thing after another; but only that they will ne'r have done, till they have reform'd Religion quite away? But besides, supposing they shou'd not prune off Article after Article at the rate now mention'd; yet if once they begin to make a Medley of Religion, and to dash New with Old, Foreign with Domestick, and Prophane with Sacred, this Brewing-Trade must necessarily over-run, and adulterate all *Christendom*; so that nothing in time will be left in the Church

" was before believ'd, but with more Light and Clearness, and (in
" that Sense) with more Firmness than before. Now in this Sense
" give way to a *Disputator errans*, every cavilling Disputer to de-
" ny, or quarrel at the Maxims of Christian Religion, any one, or
" any part of any one of them; and why, may he not then take
" the liberty to do the like of any other, till he have shaken all?
" But this hinders not the *Church her self*, nor any appointed by
" the Church to examine her own Decrees, and to see that she
" keep *dogmata deposita*, the Principles of Faith unblemish'd, and
" uncorrupted: For if she do not so, but that *Novitia veteribus*,
" cap. 31. new Doctrines be added to the old, the Church, which
" is *Sacrum Veritatis*, the *Repository of Verity*, may be chang'd
" into *Lupanar Errorum*, I am loath to English it. By the *Church*
" then this may, nay, it ought to be done, however, every *wrangle-*
" *Disputer* may neither deny, nor doubtfully dispute, much
" less obstinately oppose the Determinations of the Church, no not
" where they are not *Dogmata deposita*, these deposited Princi-
" ples. But if he will be so bold to deny or dispute the Determi-
" nations of the Church, yet that may be done without shaking
" the *Foundation*, where the *Determinations* themselves belong but
" to the *Fabrick*, and not to the *Foundation*; for a whole *Frame*
" of *Building* may be shaken, and yet the *Foundation* where it is
" well-laid, remain firm: And therefore, after all, A. C. dares
" not say, the *Foundation* is shaken, but only *in a sort*; and then
" 'tis as true, that *in a sort* it is not shaken. Thus this excellent
and truly Primitive Bishop. *Vid. Relation of a Conference between*
William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher the Jesuite,
p. 24, 25. Vid. Bishop Stillingfleet's Vindication of him, part I.
cap. 3. p. 87.

uncorrupted, nothing genuine, nothing entire, nothing pure ; insomuch, that what heretofore was the Sanctuary of undefil'd Truth, will at length become the very Stews of Error and Uncleanness. But may the Divine Goodness preserve the Minds of the Faithful from this horrid Impurity, and may the Enemies of God only be found guilty of such adulterous Mixtures.

For these Reasons it is, that the Church of Christ is so diligent and wary a Guardian of the Doctrines committed to her Trust, as never to attempt the least Alteration in 'em, either by Subtraction or Addition ; she neither lops off Necessaries, nor graffs on Superfluities ; she loses nothing that is her own, nor ever usurps what belongs not to her ; but makes it her whole Business faithfully and wisely to instruct us in the Doctrines of the Ancients ; and what she finds there to be rude and unfinish'd, that to perfect and polish ; what she finds express and clear, that to confirm and strengthen ; and what she finds confirm'd and definitive, that to keep : For what else has been the Design of the Church in all her Canons, but only to make that which was barely believ'd at first, to be more strongly believ'd for the time to come ? That which was preach'd up with Moderation at first, to be preach'd up with more Zeal for the future ? And lastly, that what was more remissly handled by the Fathers, shou'd be more accurately treated and improv'd by the Sons ? This always was the Design of the Catholick Church assembled in Council, upon the Alarm

of any rising Heresies ; this, I say, was the whole Design, unless it was to decide some old Traditionary Customs only, and to commit the Summ and Substance of 'em in Writing, for the Prevention of all Disputes for the time to come ; or more frequently, to consult about and settle some new ^a Term, more clearly

** Et plerumq; propter Intelligentia lucem, non novum Fidei sensum, novæ Appellationis proprietate signando,]* We see here not the least Shadow of any Pretence, in the Time of *Vincentius*, to a Power of decreeing new Articles of Faith, or of any Obligation to believe such Articles when decreed, tho' by a General Council, much less by the Bishop of *Rome* only. The Power here pretended to, is a Power only of setting the old Faith in a clearer Light, of guarding and fencing it about with such Terms and Expressions as are more fully declarative of the Sense of the ancient Catholick Church, and less liable to the Sophistry and Evasion of Heretics. The new Term here alluded to, seems to be the *τὸ δομοστοιον*, or the Word *Consubstantial* in the *Nicene Creed* : This Term not only pinch'd the *Arians*, and bore too hard upon a *Latitudinarian* Faith, but gave some Trouble also to *Eusebius of Cesarea*, who refus'd at first to assent to it ; but being afterwards fully satisfy'd of its true meaning, he made no scruple of subscribing to it, and signing the Confession of Faith made by the Council of *Nice*. For in his Letter to the People of *Cesarea*, he tells 'em, that for fear of Misrepresentations he thought it necessary to send 'em the Creed first drawn up by himself ; and next, the other, which with some Addition to ours (says he) the Synod establish'd. At the end of his own Creed, he thus adds, " Having thus declar'd our Faith, it met with no Contradiction ; yea, the most holy Emperor himself first pronounced it to be Orthodox, affirming that he was of the same Mind, and exhorting all others unanimously to subscribe to the same Doctrine, adding only the Word *Consubstantial* to it ; which he expounded, affirming likewise that the Son was not stil'd *Consubstantial* according to corporeal Affections, or that he did subsist of his Father by any kind of Section or Division, it being impossible that an intellectual incorporeal Nature shou'd admit of any corporeal Passion ; but that these Things were to be understood in a Divine mysterious Way : Thus the most wise and religious Emperor discours'd about these Matters. The Bishops taking the Advantage of the Emperor's Proposal concerning the Word *δομοστοιον*, drew up the following Creed. That *Constantine*, as yet hardly a *Catechumen*, shou'd be so great a Master in the

clearly and fully to express the Sense of an old Article of Faith.

C H A P. XXX.

Our Author returns here to a more particular Explication of St. Paul's Command to Timothy about the Depositum.

BUT to return to the Apostle, *O Timothy,* (says he) *Keep that which is committed to*

Christian Mystery, as to be the first Proposer of the Term *Consubstantial*, is what *Valesius* thinks not probable; and for some other Reasons wou'd have it understood, that after *Eusebius* produc'd his Confession of Faith, the Bishops thought proper to add the Word *Consubstantial*, which the Emperor confirm'd. *Vid. Vales. Annotat. in Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 8.* But be this as it will, *Eusebius*, after his own Symbol, subjoins that agreed on in the Synod; and having largely explain'd the meaning of *Consubstantial*, he thus adds, "That *Consubstantial with the Father*, signifying no more than that "the Son of God has no kind of Similitude with any Creatures, "but is only and in all things like unto his Father that begat him, "not of any other Substance or Essence but of the Father; *Consubstantial* thus explain'd, it seem'd very just and reasonable we "shou'd assent to it. ἐπει τὸν παταῖν τινάς λογίας καὶ σποφα- νεῖς Ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγβορεας ἐγνωμόν ὅπις τὸν πατέρα τοὺς Θεολογίας, τῷ τοῦ Ομοούσιον συγχρησαμένος ὄνοματι. For as much as we know that some learned and illustrious Bishops, and Writers of old, in explaining the Divinity of the Father and the Son, have made use of this Term *Consubstantial*. *Vid. Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 8. p. 26.* So that notwithstanding the *Arians* cavilling at this Word as novel and unheard of, yet is it very evident even from the Mouth of *Eusebius*, that as the Doctrine was Orthodox and Primitive, so the Term also was in use amongst some very ancient and celebrated Writers of the Catholick Church; and therefore by the *Nova Appellationis* proprietate, *Vincentius* does not understand a Word purely and entirely new, but either a Word not to be met with in Holy Scripture, or seldom us'd by the *ancient Fathers*, and which the Church had Authority to establish for the better Explanation and Security of the old Faith.

thy Trust, avoiding profane Bablings. *Avoid,* (says he) that is, fly 'em as you wou'd a Viper, a Scorpion, a Basilisk, who not only kill with their Touch, but their very Sight and Breath are destructive. But what does the Apostle mean by *avoiding*? How far wou'd he have us avoid such Persons? Why, *with such* 1 Cor. 5.11. *no not to eat.* And so likewise, says another Apostle; *If there come any unto you, and bring* John 2. 10. *not this Doctrine.* What *Doctrine*? What other, but that Catholick and Universal *Doctrine*, which has continu'd one and the same thro' every successive Generation, without any Corruption of the Truth in its Delivery, and will continue the same for ever? What then? Why, says the Apostle, *Receive him not into your House, neither bid him, God speed; for he that biddeth him, God speed, is Partaker of his evil Deeds.* But to proceed, *Avoid profane Bablings, or Novelties of Speech.* By *Prophane*, we are to understand, such as have nothing Sacred, nothing of the true Religion, but are entire Strangers, and were never admitted into the Bosom of the Church, which is the Temple of God, By *Novelties of Speech*, we are to understand novel Articles of Faith, novel Impositions, novel Opinions, such as are repugnant to Primitive Antiquity; and which, if once admitted, must necessarily destroy, either in whole, or at least in great part, the Faith of the blessed Fathers. For if these Novelties are true, it follows of Necessity, That the Faithful in every Age, all the Saints, all the Chaste, the Undefil'd, the Virgins, the whole Body of the

Clergy, the whole Army of Martyrs and Confessors, all the many famous Cities, and People, so many Islands, Provinces, Kings, Kingdoms, and Nations; in a word, all the World, that by the Catholick Faith has been incorporated into Christ their Head, must be pronounc'd ignorant, erroneous, blasphemous, and for so many Ages together not to have known what a Christian ought to know and believe for his Soul's Health.

Avoid then (says St. Paul) profane Novelties; such as you can never meet with among Catholicks, and such as you can never miss of amongst Hereticks: For pray tell me one Heretical Novelty, that we cannot tell the Name of its Author, and determine the Place and Time of its Birth? Shew me the Founder of any Heresy, who was not first a Dissenter and Schismatick from the Ancient, Catholick, Universal Church? For the Truth of this, we have Examples as clear as the Sun; for was not the Prophane ^b *Pelagius* a Separatist, who first had the

^b *Quis enim unquam ante prophanum illum Pelagium? &c.*] Tell me one Heretical Novelty (saith *Vincentius*) that we cannot tell the Name of its Author, and determine the Place and Time of its Birth? This is what *Tertullian* insists on, when he says, that the Substance is before the Shadow, and the Truth before the Counterfeit. The Argument is this: All necessary Doctrines were taught by the *Apostles*, and profess'd by the *Apostolick Churches*; but such a Doctrine was unknown to the *Apostolick Churches*, or contrary to what they profess'd, therefore such a Doctrine is either unnecessary or false; and I doubt not but the present Corruptions of *Rome* might be trac'd home this way, as well as the following Heresies. The History of *Pelagius*, his Heresy, his several Condemnations, &c. are Subjects of too large a Nature to be particularly compriz'd within the Compass of a Note: They are fully treated of by *St. Austin*, and *St. Jerom*, and many others about that Age; they

the Impudence to affirm Man to be so free and sufficient of himself, as to stand in no need of the Divine Grace to make him good ? Was his monstrous Disciple *Celestius* a Catholick, who first deny'd Mankind to be involv'd in the

they are treated of likewise by Dr. *Forbes*, *Du Pin*, and especially by the learned Mr. *Wall*, in his excellent Account of *Infant-Baptism*, which last I particularly recommend to the English Reader ; and therefore in short, *Pelagius* was a British Monk, and, as some say, of the Monastery of *Bangor* in *England*, and not in *Ireland* ; he liv'd about the Year 411, in the Reign of *Honorius*, and *Theodosius Junior* ; and his fundamental Error was, that Human Nature was not affected by the Sin of *Adam*, that it is in the Power of Man to believe the Gospel without any internal Operation of the Grace of God ; and the same Opinion was St. *Austin* once of. *Neq; enim Fidem putabam (says he) Dei Gratia preueniri, ut per illam nobis datur quod posceremus utiliter, nisi quia credere non possemus, si non praecederet praconium Veritatis. Ut autem prædicato nobis Evangelio consentiremus, nostrum esse proprium & nobis ex nobis esse arbitrabar. Quem meum Errorum nonnulla Opuscula mea satis indicant ante Episcopatum scripta. de Predest. Sanct. lib. 1, c. 3.* that is, he was once of Opinion, that Faith was not owing to the preventing Grace of God, that there was need only of the external preaching of the Gospel, and upon such a discovery it was wholly and solely in the Power of Man to believe. But whatever he had written to this effect before he was a Bishop, he revers'd in his *Retractions*, lib. 1. c. 23. and earnestly disputed against it as a part of the *Pelagian Heresy*. This, as the rest of *Pelagianism*, is furbish'd up again by the *Socinians*, who in the *Racovian Catechism* deliver it in this manner ; *Nonne ad credendum Evangelio Spiritus Sancti interiore dono opus est? Nullo modo: neq; enim in Scripturis legimus cuiquam id conferri donum, nisi credenti Evangelio. Is there not need of the internal Gift or Operation of the Holy Spirit for the Belief of the Gospel? By no means: For we read not in the Scriptures, that that Gift was conferr'd on any one, but such as believ'd already. And yet we read, that the Lord open'd the heart of Lydia, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul: By Grace are we sav'd, thy' Faith, and that not of our selves, it is the Gift of God, Acts 16. 14. Ephes. 2, 8.* So that Faith is as evidently the Gift of God in the Act, as it is in the Object ; as the Increase and Perfection, so the Original or Inchoation of Faith is from the Spirit of God, not only by an external Proposal in the Word, but by an internal Illumination in the Soul ; by which we are inclin'd and dispos'd to the Obedience of Faith, in assenting to such Truths, which unto a natural and carnal Man are Foolishness.

Guilt of Adam's Sin? Who ever presum'd to divide the Unity of the Trinity, before the sacrilegious Arius, or to confound the Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead, before the profligate Sabellius? Who, before the cruel

^c *Quis ante sceleratum Sabellium Unitatis Trinitatem confundere ausus est?*] *Sabellius* was a *Libyan* of *Ptolemais* in *Pentapolis*, about the year 250. he held the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, to be one Person only under a Trinity of Names; and this Person he calls sometimes the *Father*, sometimes the *Son*, and sometimes the *Holy Ghost*. Σαβέλλιος ὃ ὁ Λίβιος ὁ πενταπολίτης τοιωτης ἦρχεν αἱρέσεως· μίαν ψόσασιν ἐφορεύειν & παλέσσειν, καὶ τὸ φῦλον τωνδιμα, καὶ ἐν τελετυμον περισσωπον, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν, ποτὲ μὲν παλέσσειν καλέσαι, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς φῦλον, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς ἄγιον πνεῦμα. *Theodoret.* *Haret.* *Fab.* *lib.* 2. *c.* 9. *Vid.* *Epiph.* *Her.* 62. *seit.* 2. They are call'd likewise by the *Latin Fathers Patripassians*, because by confounding the Person of the Son with that of the Father, the *Sabellians* assert the *Father* to have suffer'd. *Nam Sabelliani dicti sunt quidam Heretici, qui vocantur & Patripassiani, qui dicunt ipsum Patrem passum fuisse.* *Aug. in Euang. Job. tract.* 36. We find the *Patripassians* rank'd among other Hereticks by *St. Cyprian, Epist.* 73. *ad Jubaianum.* And indeed this Heresy was much older than *Sabellius*; and *Praxeas*, against whom *Tertullian* wrote, seems to be the Author of it: *For being urg'd with that Place, where the Three Persons are distinguish'd, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore that which shall be born of thee, shall be call'd the Son of God;* answer'd thus, *Filius Dei Deus est, & Virtus Altissimi Altissimus est;* that is, according to him, *The Son of God is the same Person with God the Father, and the Power of the Highest is but another Name for the Highest;* for which reason *Tertullian* says, *Paracletum fugavit, & Patrem crucifixit.* *adv. Prax. c. 1.* He has banish'd the *Paraclete*, and crucify'd the *Father*. After *Praxeas* arose *Noetus*, who affirm'd the Distinction of Persons in the Trinity to be merely *Nominal*; and therefore, says *Epiphanius*, ἔσθλοντο λέγειν & Παλέσσειν πεπονθέντας. *Her.* 57. *Noetus has the Impudence to assert that the Father suffer'd.* *Vid. Aug. Her. 36.* Immediately after him arose *Sabellius*, and maintain'd the same Heresy. Δοματίζει δὲ τος καὶ οἱ ἀπόκτιτοι Σαβελλιανοὶ τὸ αὐτὸν εἶδος παλέσσειν, & αὐτὸν φῦλον τὸ αὐτὸν εἶδος πνεῦμα, ὡς εἴδος μιᾷ ψόσασθαι τρεῖς ὄνουσιας, ἢ ὡς εἴδος περισσωπον σῶμα, καὶ φυχὴν, καὶ πνεῦμα. *Epiph. Her.* 62. *seit.* 2. and from him afterwards were all, which held the same Opinion, call'd *Sabellians*. *Aug. Her. 41.* The Decrees and Confessions of the Councils

cruel ^d *Novatianus* tax'd God with Cruelty, as if he rather desir'd the Death of a Sinner, than that he shou'd repent and live? And lastly, was not

Councils of *Antioch* and *Nice*, wherein the Son is declar'd a distinct Person from the Father, overthrow this Doctrine; and by the first Canon of the Council of *Constantinople*, the *Sabellians*, among other Hereticks, are expressly condemn'd by Name; and Anathematiz'd likewise by *Damasus*, in his Synodical Epistle against divers Heresies, cited by *Theodore*, *Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 11.*

^d *Quis ante crudelissimum Novatianum, crudellem Deum dixit?* In that Persecution under *Decius*, about the Year 253. wherein so many resisted unto Blood, and many sunk under the Temptation, the *Martyrs* presuming too much upon their Merits, took upon them to give *Labels of Peace* to the *Lapsed*, whereby some *Presbyters* were prevail'd on, without consulting their Bishop, to re-admit 'em into Communion sooner than the Rules of the Church did allow. Upon this Relaxation of Discipline, *Novatus*, a *Presbyter* of *Carthage*, a great Pretender to Sanctity, but one who made no Scruple of Schism, took occasion to distinguish his Godliness, and maintain'd, that the *Lapsed* upon no Conditions of Repentance whatever ought to be receiv'd again into the Peace and Communion of the Church; which barbarous Doctrine is the Ground of that Epithet, *The most cruel Novatian*. Having rais'd a Faction at *Carthage*, the *Puritan*, with some of his Party, sails forthwith to *Rome*, and there joins with *Novatianus*, a Man after his own Heart, as well as almost after his own Name, (for they are frequently confounded by the Greek Writers, *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 43. Epiph. Her. 59. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 28, &c.*) This *Novatianus Presbyter* of *Rome*, by the vilest Arts imaginable, procur'd himself to be ordain'd Bishop, and made those he communicated, swear by the Body and Blood of Christ never to desert his Party; for the Communicant, who upon receiving the Bread us'd to say *Amen*, was oblig'd to pronounce these Words, *Non deinde ad Cornelium revertar. I will never more return to Cornelius*. Vid. *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 43.* But finding their Designs frustrated, and *Cornelius* generally acknowledg'd the Rightful and Lawful Bishop of *Rome*, they separated from the Church, and charg'd it with Licentiousness, and want of Discipline, for admitting the *Lapsed* upon Repentance to Communion, setting up *Novatian* Bishops in many Cities which were fill'd with *Catholick* ones, and by way of Distinction stiling themselves *Cathari*, the pure undefil'd Party, who kept themselves from the Society of such as had apostatiz'd, and of those who communicated with them. Upon St. *Cyprian's* Return from his Retirement, he conven'd a Synod of neighbouring Bishops, and settled the Case of the *Lapsi*, ordering the Time of their Penance in proportion

not *Simon Magus* the first, so deservedly smitten by the Apostolick Sword, (from whom that old Sink of Impurities continually deriv'd it self by a secret Channel as low as ^e *Priscillianus*) was not

portion to the Nature of their Crimes. This Synodical Determination was immediately dispatch'd to *Rome*, and ratify'd by *Cornelius*, and a Council of sixty Bishops, and more Presbyters and Deacons, concluding that *Novatus*, and all such as espous'd that merciless Doctrine, shou'd be excluded the Communion of the Church. About the same Time, there was a Synod also held at *Antioch* to suppress this Schism. *Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 43. 46.* The Character of *Novatus* you have at large in *St. Cyprian, Ep. 49.* And in his 52d Ep. *ad Antonianum*, among many other Things, we have this Account of *Novatianus*. *Quod vero ad Novatiani personam attinet, Frater charissime, de quo desiderasti tibi scribi, quam hæresin introduxisset; scias nos primo in loco nec curiosos esse debere quid ille doceat, cum foris doceat. Quisquis ille est, &c. qualisq[ue] est, Christianus non est, qui in Christi Ecclesia non est. Fasset se licet, &c. Philosophiam, vel Eloquentiam suam superbis vocibus prædicet: qui nec Fraternitatem, nec Ecclesiasticam unitatem tenuit, etiam quod prius fuerat amisit, &c.* As to the Person of *Novatianus*, dearest Brother, of whom you desire some Account, and the Heresy he has introduc'd, I must tell you, in the first place, that I don't look upon my self oblig'd to be very inquisitive what it is he teaches, since he teaches it in Schism: For whoever he is, or however gifted, he is no Christian, I am sure, while he is not in the Church of Christ. Let him value himself as much as he pleases, and pride himself in his Philosophy and Eloquence; yet he who holds not to the Brotherhood, and the Unity of the Church, has forfeited even all he was before. See more of his Character, *Epist. 57.*

^e *A quo vetus ille turpitudinem gurges usq[ue] in novissimum Priscilianum manavit.]* Simon Magus has been spoke to already; that Common Shore of Uncleannels, in conjunction with the *Manichean* Heresy, empty'd it self into *Priscillian* about the End of the fourth Century. The Account of this Heretick I shall take from *Sulpicius Severus*, of whom we may learn more concerning the *Priscillianists*, than of any other Ecclesiastical Writer. About the Time just now mention'd, one *Mark* of *Memphis* in *Egypt* having imbib'd the *Gnostick* and *Manichean* Principles, came over into *Spain*; his first Converts were one *Agape*, a Woman of Quality, and one *Helpidius*, a Rhetorician, and by these two was *Priscilian* instructed. He was a noble *Spaniard*, he was rich, learned, eloquent, and witty, and had a wondersful Easiness in speaking and disputing; he was a very taking Person both in Body and Mind; Watching, Hunger, and Thirst

not this *Conjurer*, I say, the first, who had the Forehead to charge God the Creator, as the Author of all Evil, that is, of all the most horrid Crimes imaginable which his Creature Man has been ever guilty of? For he affirms, that Man came directly from the Hands of the Creator with a Nature so tempting, and a Will so violently turn'd to Wickedness, that he can do nothing, but will Evil continually, as being continually agitated and set on Fire by the fu-

Thirst, were Things he went thro' with Ease ; he had no desire to be rich, and liv'd with Frugality ; but he was vain to the last degree, and exceedingly bloated with his prophane Learning ; and 'tis thought that from his very Youth he had exercis'd himself in the Arts of Magick. When he first set up, what by the Power of his Persuasives, and his Talent at Flattery, he drew many of the Nobility and Commonalty after him : The Women, who are generally fond of Novelties, instable in their Principles, and wonderfully curious, flock'd after him in abundance ; and a shew of Humility in his Looks and Habit procur'd him universal Respect. *Spain* now began to be far gone in the Heresy, nor did the Bishops keep clear of the Infection : Two of them particularly, *Instantius* and *Salvianus*, not only went in by Consent, but engag'd by Oath to be *Priscillianists*. In short after many Disputes, a Synod was assembled at *Saragossa*; and Sentence was given against the Bishops *Instantius* and *Salvianus*, and against *Helpidius* and *Priscillian*, and all those who shou'd receive them into Communion. But *Instantius* and *Salvianus*, without any respect to the Sentence of the Synod of *Saragossa*, ordain'd *Priscillian* Bishop of *Avila* ; upon which, by an Edict of *Gratian*, they were both driven out of their Countrey, and went to *Rome* and *Milan*, and were rejected by *Damasus* and *St. Ambrose*. At length the Tyrant *Maximus*, who was then at *Triers*, committed the Judgment of this whole Affair to the Prefect *Evodius*, who having convicted *Priscillian* of Witchcraft, and of holding nocturnal Assemblies of leud Women, and of praying naked, pronounc'd him guilty, and reported the whole Matter to *Maximus*, who order'd *Priscillian*, and his chief Followers, to have their Heads cut off, which was done accordingly in the Year 385. This and much more is to be met with in *Sulpicius* at the end of his second Book. See likewise *Aug. Her.* 70. where among other Things, you will find one of this Hereticks Maxims to be this —

Jura, Perjura, Secretum prodere noli.

Swear, and Forswear, but Secrets ne'r disclose.

rious

rious Motion of his own irregular Appetites, and ingulph'd in all manner of uncleanness by a Passion insatiable.

Innumerable other Examples of this kind there are, which for Brevity sake, I pass over, and by all which 'tis evident beyond dispute, how remarkable and constant a Custom it is amongst Hereticks, *To distinguish themselves by some prophane and new fashion'd Opinions, and to be always kecking at the Decrees of the Ancients, and by Oppositions of Science falsely so called, to make Shipwreck of the Faith.*

On the contrary, the Character of Catholicks is this, *To preserve inviolably the sacred Depositum of the holy Fathers committed to their Trust, to condemn prophane Novelties, and according to that of the Apostle commanded over and over again, To pronounce the Anathema upon any one whatever, who should attempt to preach another Gospel.*

C H A P. XXXI.

The Dexterity and Readiness of Hereticks at Scripture-Proof, in order to set a good Face upon their Heresies.

BUT here perhaps it will be ask'd, whether Hereticks make use of the divine Authority of Scripture? Use it indeed they do, and with mighty Ostentation. For you shall see 'em in

in the twinkling of an Eye flie over the Books of Moses, the Books of the Kings, the Psalms, Prophets, Gospels and Epistles. For whether amongst their own Party, or with Catholicks, in private or publick, in Discourse or Writing, at Table or in the Street, they advance nothing of their own but they shadow it all over with Scripture-Expression. For the proof of this read but the Works of *Paulus Samosatenus*, *Priscillian*,

[Lege Pauli Samosateni opuscula, &c.] I have already shew'd in the Preliminary to this Discourse, that Tertullian makes often mention of Hereticks, who liv'd and mov'd by Scripture-Phrase, who could neither eat, nor walk, nor write, nor talk, but in Gospel-Language. The Cant it seems was the Trade of old among the Pretenders to Godliness, and is not forgotten to this Day. The first Heretick of this way our Author instances in, is *Paulus Samosatenus*; so called from *Samosata*, the Place of his Birth, a City of Mesopotamia near Euphrates. He succeeded *Demetrianus* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, in the Year 260. according to *Eusebius* in his *Chronic*. In the Year 264, says *Dupin*, was the first Synod of *Antioch* assembled against him, but they did not pass Sentence against him in this Synod, because he promised to quit his erroneous Doctrine; but he soon relaps'd into his former Heresie; so a Second Council was held against him at *Antioch* in the Year 270, says *Dupin*, in 272, says *Baronius*: He was convicted by one *Malchion* a Priest, afterwards he was depos'd by the Council, and *Domnus* elected into his Place, and the Council gives an ample Relation of their Proceedings. This Synodical Epistle is to be seen in *Eusebius*, lib. 7. *Hist. Eccl. cap. 30.* and the Sum of the Indictment there against *Paulus Samosatenus* is this. In the first place, say they, since he is *λοσάς τὸν καρδίαν*, an Apostate from the Rule of Faith, *ἀδὲν δεῖ τὸν Εὐαγγέλιον τὰς περιήγετες νείνειν*, it is no matter for examining into the Actions of one that is without, just like that of St. Cyprian lately quoted, *Scias, nec curiosos esse debere, quid ille doceat, cum foris doceat*. They then accuse him of enriching himself by publick Extortion, Rapine, and Sacrilege, for his intolerable Pride and Cruelty, for taking upon him the State of a petty Prince, as appear'd by his numerous Retinue, and by his sitting in a lofty Tribunal, for commanding Hymns to be sung in his own Praise, and ordering himself to be publickly commended in the Sermons, for living too familiarly with Women, and using

Priscillian, ^g Eunomius, ^h Jovinian, and the other Pests of Christendom, and you'll be abundantly

using his People and Clergy with insufferable Insolence. After this, they say, they condemn'd him principally, because he reviv'd the Heresie of *Artemas*, teaching, *That Jesus Christ was a meer Man, and that he did not exist before he was born of the Virgin Mary.*

* *Eunomii.*] *Eunomius* was of *Dacora*, a Village of *Cappadocia*, *Soz. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. cap. 27.* He was at first a Notary to *Aetius* the Heretick, *Socrat. Hist. Eccl. c. 35. l. 2.* under his Discipline he put himself, but never came up to the Subtlety of his Master, but abounded in words. He was ordain'd Deacon by *Eudoxius*, and soon after banish'd to *Myda*, a City of *Phrygia*. He return'd to *Constantinople* at the Time of the Council, in the Year 359. and some time after he was ordain'd Bishop of *Cyzicum* by *Eudoxius* in the Reign of *Valens*, according to *Socrates*, and *Sozomen*, *Socr. l. 4. c. 7. Soz. l. 6. c. 8.* more probably under the Emperor *Constantius*, according to *Theodoret* and *Philostorgius*, *Theod. l. 2. c. 27. Philostor. l. 5. c. 3.* Tho' he was full of Scripture Quotations, as *Vincentius* says, yet *Socrates* says, that he was little acquainted with the Sence of 'em, ὅλιγοναθώς μὲν ξένων τερπεῖς γεγματά, &c. That his seven Books upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans are little else but vain Repetition, and empty Stuff, πολλὰς γὰρ λόγους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναλόγας, τὸν ἐπισολῆς τὸ σκόπον λαβεῖν καὶ διδῶν). He has been at a vast Expence of Words, and never touch'd upon the Design or Scope of the Epistle. *Socr. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 7.* He asserted Christ to be only, τερπεῖς κτίσμα τὸ Πατέρος καὶ Θεογένην, *The First and Principal Creature of the Father.* Τὸ δὲ πανάριον Πνεῦμα τερπεῖς τὸ ἄλλων φύσις τὸ γένος δημιουργήθυνε τοιμαστῶν. But the All-holy Ghost to be made by the Son before his other Works. *Theodoret. heret. Fab. lib. 4. cap. 3.* This is yet more evident from his own words. *Vid. Eunom. apud. Basil. adv. Eunom. l. 2.* The Confession of the Ancients was, that the Holy Ghost was the Third Person of the Trinity in Order and Dignity, but *Eunomius* pretending to follow them, added, that he was the *Third in Nature*, which the Ancients never taught, and what this *Third in Nature* was, he thus declar'd, τερπεῖς τάξις καὶ φύση, περιστάμενος μὲν τὸ Πατέρος, ενορέαται δὲ τὸ γένος λούμανον—Θεότητος καὶ δημιουργίας διαδέμεται θεολειπόμενον. *ibid. l. 3.* where he expressly makes the Holy Ghost to be *Third in Order and Nature*, purely by the Will of God, and to be a Creature of Christ, void of Divinity and creating Power. Accordingly he baptiz'd only by a single Immersion, and not into the Trinity, but into the Death of Christ. *Socr. lib. 5. c. 24. Sozom. l. 6. c. 26.* He deny'd likewise the Reality of Hell or future Torments, τὸ κόλαστιν τὸ μέλλον,

dantly satisfy'd ; for you'll hardly meet with a Page that is not painted and laid on thick

λεγότι, καὶ τὸ γένεναν, καὶ κατὰ αἰλίθειαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ φόβον, οὐλεῖον
ἀπειληθύνει. Harmenop. de Sect. 13. So likewise Balsamon upon the first Canon of Constantinople, (*Eunomius*) futuram Punitionem & gehennam, vere non esse nugabatur, & ad terrorem tantum, eorum esse minas intentatas. He imagin'd future Punishment and Hell to be threaten'd only in terrorem, meer Scare-Crows, and not real Things. But before I conclude this Heresie, it may not be amiss to shew, how *Socinus*, the Follower of his Faith, has exactly copied after *Eunomius* in his Opinion likewise of future Punishments ; and with what Caution and Sliness the Tempter insinuates this most destructive and worst of Doctrines, that his Disciples may plainly collect it to be his Opinion, tho' not asserted in express Terms. His Friend *Volkelius* it seems had let him know that his Doctrine concerning the Resurrection (which was, that the whole Man laying in the Grave till then, the very Doctrine so much labour'd for of late) and concerning the Death of the Wicked, that is, their no Resurrection at all ; that his Opinion, as to these two Points, had given very great Offence to many even of their own Party ; upon which Information *Socinus* replies in these words, *Quod ais, ea ibi, tum de Christianorum Resurrectione, tum de morte impiorum, passim contineri, qua a multis sine magna offensione, tum nostris, tum alienis, legi non possunt ; scio* equidem ista ibi contineri ; sed, meo iudicio, nec passim, nec ita aperte (*cavi enim illud quantum potui*) ut quisquam vir pius facile offendì possit ; adeo, ut, quod nominatim attinet ad Impiorum mortem, in quo dogmate maius est multum offensionis periculum, ea potius ex iis colligi potest, quae ibi disputantur, quam expresse literis consignata extet. *Socin. Epist. 6. ad Volkel.* And hoping he has been cautious enough to prevent any Offence to the Pious, (especially as to the Doctrine of no future Punishment, which he owns to be the most offensive Doctrine) but if not, he then adds with an Air of Indifference, exactly like some Lovers of Truth now a days, *Quicquid sit, veritas patefacienda est. But be the Issue what it will, 'tis fit that Truth should be brought to Light.*

^b *Joviniani.*] St. Austin saith, the Jovinian Heresie arose, when he was a Youth ; the Author of it was *Jovinianus*, a perfect Epicure of a Monk, an Approver of all sort of Pleasure, and Licentiousness. He maintain'd with the Stoicks, that all Sins were equal, and that after Baptismal Regeneration a Man could sin no more, and therefore that all Kinds of Abstinence and Mortification were impertinent and to no purpose. He deny'd *Mary* to be a Virgin after her Delivery ; but this Heresie was so notoriously gross and unnatural, that it was soon extinguish'd ; it prevail'd mostly upon Women, and never came so far (says St. Austin) as to infect any of the Clergy. *Vid. Aug. Har. 82.*

with Scripture both of Old and New Testament. But those are the most formidable Serpents that lie folded up under the Shadow of divine Authority. For they are well aware that their fulsom Errors in their pure Naturals would presently be as offensive to all, as the Fumes of a Dunghil; and therefore for a sweet smelling Savour, they spice 'em as it were with the Odours of the Gospel; so that he, who at first sight would see through the Error with Contempt, was it undress'd, and in its own proper Colours, is very hard put to't to discover the Fallacy so faced and interwoven with divine Truth. And therefore to make their Heresies palatable to the People, they Sugar 'em over with Texts of Scripture just as we sweeten the Edges of the Cup to invite Children to take the Potion, that being impos'd on by the pre-engaging Sweet they should never dream of the ensuing Bitter. Or as Quacks put off their destructive Potions under the Title of infallible Cures, that no one should ever suspect Poison in the Advertisement of a Remedy.

Under this View it was, that our Saviour Matt. 7.15. cry'd out in these words, *Beware of false Prophets, which come to you in Sheeps cloathing, but inwardly they are Ravening Wolves.* But what is here meant by the *Sheeps Cloathing*? Why, by this we are to understand the Doctrines of the Prophets and Apostles woven together by them with all the Simplicity imaginable, like so many Fleeces of Wool (if I may so speak) into one entire Cloathing for the Catholick

Catholick Church, the Body of that immaculate Lamb which took away the Sins of the World. But who then are the *ravelling Wolves?* They are those savage Hereticks, whose Minds are continually set upon the Blood and Ruin of Catholicks, and who are never well but when they are infesting the Fold of the Church, and worrying the Flock of Christ all the ways possible they can. And to steal the more slyly upon the heedless Sheep, they put off the Wolf's Shape, but keep on his Nature, and cover themselves with Scripture-Quotations, as with Fleeces of Wool; so that no one would suspect the Fangs of a Wolf, where nothing is visible but the Softness of a Sheep. But what says our Saviour? Why, *ye shall know them by their Fruits*, that is, you shall know them not only by their continual canting in Gospel-Phrase, but then more especially when they come to give you their Sence of Scripture, and let you into the Meaning of the common Cant; then you'll see that Bitterness, Rancour, and Rage, that lies at the bottom of all these fair Pretences; then you'll see the Poison discovering it self in amazing Exhalations, and new Scenes of Impiety open on every Side; then to be sure you'll see the *Hedge broken down*, and the *ancient Landmark which the Fathers have set, remov'd*; the Catholick Faith divided, and the Canons of the Church torn all to pieces.

Just such Deceivers were those the Apostle condemns in his second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, in these words, *For such are false Apostles, 2 Cor. xi. deceitful*¹³.

deceitful Workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ. But what are we to understand by *transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ?* Why, thus then it is, the Apostles make use of the Writings of Moses, the false Apostles do the same; the Apostles alledge the Authority of the Psalms, these do so likewise; the Apostles produce the Doctrines of the Prophets, nor are the Impostors behind 'em in this also. Thus far then the True and the False go Hand in Hand; but no sooner do they come to interpret differently the same Quotations, but then you may easily distinguish Simplicity from Subtlety, Nature from Art, Right from Wrong, and in a word the true Apostles from the false. Nor ought such a Transformation to seem strange, since the Apostle assures us, that *Satan himself is transformed into an Angel of Light;* therefore *it is no great thing if his Ministers also be transformed, as the Ministers of Righteousness.* According to St. Paul's Rule therefore, whensoever false Apostles, or false Prophets, or false Teachers, come out with their Scripture-Quotations, and by their sinister Interpretations would force the divine Oracles to speak for a Lie, we may rest satisfy'd, that they are then under the actual Possession of the Father of Lies, and driving on the Trade of the Devil, according to his own Hearts Desire, who certainly had never practis'd this black Art himself had he not look'd upon it as a Masterpiece, *and that there is no such sure Way to deceive,*

of

as when any impious Opinion is stealing into the World, to cover it well with the Word of God.

C H A P. XXXII.

A farther Prosecution of the Artifice of Hereticks to delude the Simple, and the Way to provide against it.

BUT perhaps it will be ask'd, what Proof we have for the Devil's making thus bold with the sacred Text; for Satisfaction in this Point I refer to the Gospels, where we read thus, *Then the Devil taketh him up (that is our Lord and Saviour) and setteth him on a Pinnacle of the Temple, and saith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thy self down; for it is written, he shall give his Angels charge concerning thee, and in their Hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy Foot against a Stone.* Now what will not he attempt against mortal Men from Scripture, who imagin'd he could set upon the Lord of Glory himself with Success by the same Artifice? For saith he, *If thou be the Son of God, cast thy self down.* Why so? the Scripture-Temptation follows, *For it is written, &c.* A very instructive Passage indeed, and never to be forgotten; that by so memorable an Example of divine Authority, whenever we see any Men quote Scripture in opposition to the Catholick Faith, we

B b may

may be sure that 'tis the Devil speaking thro' their Mouths. For as the *Head* of Hereticks spoke then to the *Head* of Catholicks, so do the Members of the Devil continue the same Language to the Members of Christ, that is, the Apostates to the Faithful, the Sacrilegious to the Saints, and in one word, the Hereticks to the Catholicks.

Well, but what in the last place is it, that the Devil says? Why, saith he, *If thou be the Son of God, cast thy self down*; that is, would you be the Son of God, and enter upon the Inheritance of the Heavenly Kindom, *Cast thy self down*; which is as much as if he should have said, fly from the Doctrines and Traditions of that *High Church*, which you take to be the Temple of God. And if one should put the Question to any Heretick tempting him in this manner, *How do you prove, and what Authority have you for Teaching, that I ought to depart from the ancient universal Faith of the Catholick Church?* He presently returns upon you like the Devil, *For it is written*; and at the same time he has a thousand Quotations, a thousand Examples, a Thousand Authorities from the Law, from the Psalms, from the Prophets, from the Apostles, ready at hand to reinforce him; by all which, and by the help of a special new Interpretation of his own, he prevails with some poor Souls to *cast themselves down*, as it were from the Pinnacle of the Catholick Church into the Abyss of Heresie. Besides, the Hereticks are as good at Promising as Interpreting, and by such specious Baits

they are us'd to catch unwary People at a wonderful rate ; for they make nothing to promise, and teach, that in their Church, that is, in their ⁱ Conventicle-Communion, there are great
and

ⁱ Audent etenim polliceri & docere, quod in Ecclesia, id est, in Communionis suæ Conventiculo magna & specialis ac plane personalis quedam sit Dei Gratia.] Here we have a very lively Description of the way that the Hereticks and Schismaticks of old took to seduce weak and credulous People from the Catholick Communion. Do but come (say they) and hear our Teachers, and try awhile in our Meetings, and I will pas my word you'll never go to Church again ; there's such Edification the like was never seen ; the Holy Ghost has taken up his Abode in our Congregation, and all his wonderful Gifts and Graces are Personal and plainly appropriated to our Party, insomuch, that all of our Way and Communion, without any Pains or Study, nay, without so much as praying, are all taught of God, and mov'd by the Spirit, and so protected by their Guardian Angels, that nothing shall offend or hurt the *Elec^t*. To this Description of *Vincentius*, I shall add the Account of some others. The Gnosticks, the wickedest and worst of Hereticks rail'd against the Catholicks, as Ideots, knowing nothing, Carnal, and Worldly-minded Men, stiling themselves the Spiritual, the Perfect, and the Seeds of Election. *Iren.* lib. 1. c. 1. Thus did the Priscillianists likewise their Disciples and Followers, *Hieron. Epist. ad Ctesiphont.* And thus did the Family of Love in the last Age. The vilest Sect of the Manichaens call'd themselves the Catharijts, or the Pure. *Vid. Ecber. Serm. 1. adv. Cathar. in Bibliotheca Patrum, Tom. 4. Part. 2. Col. 82. Edit. 4.* The Montanists also gave themselves the Title of Spiritual, and the Clean, and the Catholicks the Name of Psychici, or Animal. *Hieron. Com. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. 1.* The Donatists boasted of perfect Righteousness. *Optat. Milevit. lib. 2. contra Parmen.* *Vid. Aug. lib. 2. contra Parmenian.* *Epist. cap. 7, 8, 9, 10. Noli me tangere, quia mundus sum,* says a Novatian Schismatick. *Ambros. lib. de Panitentia, cap. 7.* Touch me not, for I am clean. And lastly, thus a profes'd Hater of false History has been pleas'd to say these fine Things of his own Congregation, and these false ones of the Primitive Christians. " Tis past all doubt (says he) that the number of learned Bishops among them was very rare ; and that there are many poor Men among us, (divers Weavers and Ploughmen of his own Church at Kidder-minster,) who are able not only to pray and teach, as well as most of those, who are by Eusebius extoll'd, as the famous Bishops of the second and third Age, but to write as methodical, pious, weighty Tractates, as any that were written by Men that neither convers'd with the Apostles, nor had been bred up

and special Gifts and Graces to be met with in abundance, and that these divine Assurances are plainly Personal, or appropriated to their Party. So that without any Labour, Study, or Application; nay, without so much as asking or knocking for what they want, all and every one of their Party shall be so divinely provided for, as to be held up as it were by the Hands of Angels, and so particularly protected by them, that it shall never be in their Power to dash their Feet against a Stone; that is, they shall never fall into any Error so as to hurt themselves.

But here it may reasonably be demanded; that if the Devil and his Party, some of which are false Apostles, and some false Prophets, others false Teachers, and in one word, all in general Hereticks, if all these Impostors, I say, deal with the Word of God at this Rate, and make every Text and Promise therein serve

" in Philosophy; no, not excepting Clemens Romanus himself,
 " Ignatius, Irenaeus, Cyprian, Macarius, Ephrem Syrus, Sinesius,
 " Isidor Pelusiota, and many more; and that he could name many Laymen, not only learned, but such as have neither had many Languages, nor Philosophy, who have written more accurately and judiciously, and as piously as any of these. Baxter's Abridg. of Church Hist. c. 5. Sect. 17. p. 92. Treat. of Episc. p. 1.
 " cap. 14. p. 169. The Hereticks and Schismatics of old had their Conventicula, ἀργοναστήρες, καὶ αργελαστηρά, their unlawful Meetings, and unlawful Baptisms in private Houses; and these being look'd upon as the Nurseries of Disorder, Disobedience, and every evil Work, the common Asylum for Excommunicates, and a publick Scandal to that Religion which is all Love and Unity, therefore the Council of Antioch in Year 341. Can. 2. order'd, μὴ ξείραι κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀκοινωνίτοις, μηδὲ κοῦροις συνθέσθαις συνδέχεσθαι τοῖς μὴ τῇ εκκλησίᾳ συνδέχοντοις, &c. That it is unlawful to communicate with Excommunicates, and to meet together in Houses, and pray with such as do not pray with the Church.

their own Turn ; how must the Catholicks, the true Sons of the Mother-Church, do in this Case ? How must they amongst all these Abuses of holy Scripture distinguish Truth from Falsehood ? To this I answer and repeat what I have said in the beginning of this Discourse, and what I receiv'd from the holiest and ablest Men I could meet with, namely, *They must be sure to make it their first and principal Care to interpret the Canon of Scripture according to the sense of the universal Church, and the Rule of Catholick Faith ; and herein likewise 'tis necessary to follow that Universality, Antiquity, and Consent, which obtain'd in the Catholick Apostolick Church. And if at any time it should so fall out, that a Member should rebel against the Body, or Novelty rise up against Antiquity, or one or a few should take upon them to dissent from all, or much the greater Part of Catholicks, why then there is no Question to be made, but that the Soundness of the whole is to be preferr'd before the Corruption of a Part.* And here again, in *Universality*, 'tis to be remember'd, that the old Religion is always to take place of prophane Novelty. And so likewise in *Antiquity*, the Decrees of *General Councils* (if any such are to be had) are to be consider'd in the first place, and always preferr'd before any one Man, or the Rashness of a few. And lastly, if the Question has not been stated and defin'd by a General Council, we must follow that which comes next to it in Authority, and that is, the concurring Opinions of the most and greatest Doctors of the Church ; and if, by the Grace of God, we ob-

serve these Rules with Faithfulness, Sobriety, and Diligence, it will be easy to discover and guard against any dangerous Hereticks whatever, that shall at any time arise against the Truth of the Gospel.

C H A P. XXXIII.

When and in what Cases the Ancient Fathers are to be apply'd to.

AND here now in Confirmation of what I have said, I find it necessary to illustrate by some Rules, the manner how we are to proceed in discovering and quashing upstart Heresies, by confronting them with the Doctrines unanimously maintain'd by the Primitive Fathers. We are to observe then, that the ^k ancient Consent of the Fathers is with great Care

^k *Antiqua sanctorum Patrum Consensio non in omnibus divine Legis Quæstiunculis, sed solùm, certè præcipue, in Fidei regulâ investiganda est.] Let not him that girdeth on his Harness, boast himself, as he that putteth it off, was the Saying of the King of Israel to Benhadad. And let not, say I, our modern Criticks and Commentators proclaim their Victory, and boast themselves above all the ancient Fathers, because they can shew in them some erroneous Opinions, before they first prove, that they held these Errors generally, and held 'em too not as Opinions, but tanquam de Fide, as Matters of Faith, and necessary to Salvation. For *Vincentius* here tells us, that their Consent upon every insignificant Question of Theology is not to be hunted after, but only, or at least principally in such Things as appertain to the Rule of Faith; and therefore after all the most ambitious Researches a malicious Curiosity can inspire, they have pick'd up a few *Straws* only, and have not been able to discover where the Fathers have unanimously err'd in any one Point that concerns the Summ*

Care to be sought after, and followed by us, not in every petty Question belonging to the Law of God, but only, or at least principally, in the Rule of Faith.

'Tis necessary to observe likewise, that this
¹ Method is not to be made use of at all times,
and

Summ and Substance of Religion. If then the *Fathers* have sometimes nodded, as the greatest Men sometimes do ; and if our modern Criticks have haply taken 'em napping, as often as they boast they have, and the Oversight be in such Matters only, of which a good Christian may be securely ignorant, then, I hope, such human Frailties, such innocent Mistakes, ought not in Reason to invalidate their Authority in Articles of the greatest Moment, and to abate that Esteem and Reverence that is so justly due to them for their prodigious Pains in the Study of the Holy Scriptures, and in the Defence of the true Catholick and Apostolick Faith.

¹ *Sed neq; semper, neq; omnes Hæreses hoc modo impugnanda sunt, sed Novitiae recentesq; tantummodo ; -- antequam infalsariunt vetustæ Fidei Regulas, &c.]* When *Heresies* have had a long Time and Power to corrupt the Monuments of Antiquity, our only Rule to go by then, says our Author, is the *Holy Scripture*. This was the Rule that *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and other principal Agents in the Reformation, for good Reason, appeal'd to ; and declin'd a Trial by the *Fathers*, merely because they had been so miserably defac'd by the Church of *Rome*, that there was hardly any knowing at first what was theirs, and what not. But since by the Endeavours of learned Men, both of our Adversaries, and amongst our selves, we have found out which are their undoubted Works, which doubtful, and which undoubtedly spurious, both our Forefathers and we most willingly admit of a Trial by the *Ancients*. The Church of *Rome* has had all the Opportunities of Time, Place, and Power, to establish the Kingdom of Darkness, and that in coining, clipping, and washing the Primitive Records to their own good liking, they have not been wanting to themselves, is notoriously evident : For Ecclesiastical Antiquity, as we have it in the *Roman Editions* of the *Councils*, and in some modern *Historians* of that *Communion*, is placed in so false a Light, that it must be a very discerning Eye that can distinguish the Truth : They have taken up *Marcion's* way of correcting with a *Knife* instead of a *Stile* ; they have cut out and put in, alter'd, and adulterated, and added so much ; in a word, they have made such a strange Medley of Church-History, of that especially in the first four Centuries, that one might say without a Figure, that well nigh two Parts in three, both in *Baronius* and

and against all sorts of Heresy, but against such only as are in their Infancy ; when they first begin to shew their Head, before the Authors of them have falsify'd the ancient Creeds, the Rules of Faith ; before they can have found time to spread their Poison, and adulterate the Writings of the Ancients. But in the Case of overgrown and inveterate Heresies, we are by no means to proceed in the like manner ; because they have had a long Season of pilfering from the Truth, and tampering it to their purpose : But when a Schism or Heresy has had

the *Councils*, are modern Forgeries, notorious Legends, and idle Glosses in Vindication of the Doctrines and Practiees of the present Church of *Rome*. It was a noble Project therefore, and had been a great Charity and Ease to Posterity in the Study of Christian Antiquity, had it taken Effect, the Proposal, I mean, of Dr. *Thomas James* to the most learned *Primate of Ireland*, to employ a select Company of both *Universities*, with due Assistance and Encouragement, to make an accurate Collection of that, and that only, which is true and certain in the Primitive *History and Councils*. Something of this kind has been perform'd by several learned Men, both abroad and at home ; but no single Person is equal to such a Work. And then again as to their *Expurgatory Indices*, wherein they have blotted out, interpolated, added, and so disfigur'd the *Fathers*, and made 'em speak so many Contradictions in so many Passages of their Works, that nothing can be a more undeniable Testimony that they thought the *Fathers* against 'em ; and that which makes the Thing worse yet, and plainly proves 'em Self-condemn'd, is, that these *Indices* were design'd to be kept very private, and it was purely by chance that we came to the first Knowledge of them. The learned Dr. *James* aforesaid has let the World into the *Mystery* of 'em, and the *Bastardy* of the *false Fathers* ; and it is such a *Mystery* of Iniquity, that a *Heathen of Honour* wou'd be ashame of. If then the razing, defacing, altering, and adding to ancient Records, be an Argument that such Records were made against the Falsifyers of 'em ; if this vilest of Inquisitions was set on foot by the Council of *Trent*, one of which Articles enjoins an Oath to be true to the *Fathers*, then I think we may modestly conclude, that when the *Papists* pretend to be willing to be try'd by the Primitive *Fathers*, they either mean no such Thing, or to be try'd by the *Fathers* only of their own *Purging*.

the

the Advantages of a long Reign to corrupt the Fathers to its side , the way then is to convict 'em either by the sole Authority of Scripture, or to avoid and shun 'em, as having been already condemn'd by a General Council of Catholick Bishops.

For this Reason therefore when the Ulcer first begins to break and run, and the Hereticks lay violent Hands upon some sacred Texts, and are playing Tricks, and practising upon Scripture to make it speak in their Defence , we are then immediately to summon in the Opinions of the Ancients for the Sense of the Canon , and this will be a Test to prove the Doctrine novel, and therefore irreligious ; and consequently thus it will stand expos'd without Excuse, and be condemn'd without Recovery. But here then again it is to be remember'd, that the ^m Fathers we consult upon this Occasion,

^m Sed eorum duntaxat Patrum Sententiae conferenda sunt, &c.]
Mr. Daille, whose chief Busines was to admire himself, to find fault with every thing, and mend nothing, has thought good to divert himself for above seven long Pages together upon this sin-
gle Passage : " For first of all, (says he) for the Persons of those
" Men, whose Testimonies we alledge, he (*Vincentius*) requireth
" that they shou'd be such, as not only *liv'd*, but also *taught*; and
" which is more, *persever'd* too, not only in the *Faith*, but in the
" *Communion* also of the Catholick Church : And then for fear of
" being surpriz'd, and taken at his Word, he comes over us with
" a new Supply, and qualifies his Words with a Restriction of three
" *Adverbs*; and tells us, that they must have *liv'd*, and *taught*,
" *holily*, *wisely*, and *constantly*. But yet this is not all; for besides
" all this, they must have either *dy'd* in Christ, or for Christ: So
" that if they *liv'd*, but did not *teach*; or if they both *liv'd* and
" *taught*, but did not *persevere*; or if they both *liv'd*, *taught*, and
" also *persever'd* in the *Faith*, but not in the *Communion*; or else
" in the *Communion*, but not in the *Faith* of the Catholick Church;
" or if they still *liv'd*, and *taught holily*, but not *wisely*; or on the
" contrary,

sion, are to be only such holy and wise Doctors, as have liv'd and persever'd to the last in the Faith and Communion of the Catholick Church,

" contrary, *wisely*, but not *holily*; and if, in the last place, after
 " all this, having perform'd all the Particulars before set down,
 " they did not at last die either in Christ, or for Christ, they
 " ought not, according to this Man's Rule, to be admitted as Wit-
 " nessies in this Case. *Vide Daillé of the right Use of the Fathers.*
Part 2. p. 31. And Page the 37th, he goes on to his personal
 Reflections, and says, *Who will assure us, that he was not an Heretick himself, or at least a Favourer of Hereticks? &c.* Here is such
 foul disingenuous Dealing in all this Chapter, such studied So-
 phistry and Shuffling, and withal so gross and boyish, in a word,
 so much said to so little purpose, in order to puzzle a plain Passage,
 and expose *Vincentius*, that I shou'd have pass'd it over, had I not
 found it in some measure seconded, and my Author, I think, a
 little too contemptibly treated, upon no just occasion, by a much
 greater Man in every respect than *Daillé*, I mean by the late most
 learned Bishop *Stillingfleet*, in his *Vindication of Archbishop Laud,*
part 1. cap. p. 259. For wise Men (says he) who have thoroughly
 consider'd of *Vincentius* his way, though in general they cannot but ap-
 prove of it, so far as to think it highly improbable, that there shou'd
 be Antiquity, Universality, and Consent against the true and genuine
 Sense of Scripture; yet when they consider this way of *Vincentius*, with
 all those Cautions, Restrictions, and Limitations set down by him, (*lib.*
1. c. 39.) they are apt to think that he hath put Men to a Wild-
 goose-chase to find out any thing according to his Rules; and that
St. Austin spake a great deal more to the purpose, Epist. 19. If therefore *St. Austin's Authority* be not sunk so low as that of the Monk of
Lerins, &c. I doubt not here but *Daillé* is the Person meant, both
 by the Cautions, Restrictions, and Limitations, which are his
 Words, and also by the Commendation of *St. Austin*, with which
Daillé concludes his Chapter. With all due Reverence then to the
 Memory of this very learned and very worthy Prelate, I take leave
 to say, that I think both *Vincentius's Rule*, and his *Restrictions* in
 this place very justifiable, easy to be understood, and easy to be
 apply'd, notwithstanding any thing here objected to the contrary.
 The Bishop then thinks it *highly improbable*, that the generality of
 the ancient Fathers shou'd go against the true and genuine Sense of
 Scripture; and 'tis a known Saying of *St. Austin*, *That he wou'd not*
believe the Gospel, unless the Authority of the Catholick Church did
move him thereunto; that is, unless he had the Attestation of the
Apostolick Churches for the Truth of the Apostolick Writings, in
 whose Custody the *Original Manuscripts* we find were preserv'd to

Tertullian's

Church, such as either dy'd in the Lord, or had the Happiness of being martyr'd for him.

Never-

Tertullian's Time; and if these Churches, together with the Apostolick Manuscripts, had a *Depositum*, or short *Summary* and *Rule of Faith* lodg'd with them by the Apostles, or their Order, (as I have prov'd they had) by which they were to square their Interpretations as to Matters of Faith, (and in these principally we are directed by *Vincentius* to consult the *Ancients*) then I wou'd fain see a Reason why we shou'd distrust 'em more about the *Form of sound Words*, than about the *Depositum of Scripture committed to their Trust*. And then as to the *Cautions, Restrictions, and Limitations*, that afford so much ridiculous Diversion, I wou'd ask the *Obje&tors*, whether they wou'd not except against the Testimony of *Judas*, or any other *Heretick*, who went out from the Apostles, and fell from the Faith and the Communion of the Church? And whether *Vincentius* has done any more with all his *Qualifications and Restrictions*, I leave to the Judgment of any candid Interpreter. For if an Author may be allow'd to understand himself best, let us give him a fair Hearing, when he comes in his second *Commonitory* to recapitulate upon this Head what he had said in the foregoing Discourse: Thus then he summs up his Meaning in the Conclusion of his first Chapter of his second *Commonitory*; *In case any new Question arise not as yet determin'd by a General Council, there we are to have recourse to the Opinions of the holy Fathers, of those only I mean, who at different Times and in different Places have continu'd steadfast in the Unity of the Faith, and in the Communion of the Church, and were look'd upon as the most approved Doctors of their Age; and whatever we find to have been unanimously agreed to, and maintain'd by them, to embrace and fix upon that Sense without Scruple, as the true Catholick Sense of the Universal Church*. If then *Universality, Antiquity, and Consent*, be an approv'd Rule for understanding the Sense of *Scripture*, as the Bishop allows it to be, then the Exception of Apostates and notorious Hereticks out of the number of competent Witnesses, is an easy, justifiable, and necessary Exception; and this is plainly all my Author means by the *Cautions, Restrictions, and Limitations* objected against him, and this is no *Wild-goose Chase*. Far be it from me to raise the *Monk of Lerins* above the Authority of St. *Austin*; St. *Austin* was Cotemporary with *Vincentius*, and a laborious, learned, and worthy Bishop he was; he declar'd, that *Whoever refuseth to follow the Practice of the Church, doth resist our Saviour himself, who by his Testimony recommends the Church, de Unit. Eccles. c. 22.* He was of the same Opinion concerning the Necessity of Church-Communion, and the Damnableness

Nevertheless we are to take this Caution along with us in the Belief of the Fathers ; to look upon that only as indubitably certain and unalterable, which all or the major part of 'em have manifestly, frequently, and constantly deliver'd and maintain'd in one and the same Sense, like the harmonious Consent of a General Council. But on the contrary, if any one amongst 'em, be he never so holy , never so learned, be he a Bishop, be he a ⁿ Confessor or

Damnablenes of Heresy and Schism, and paid the same Deference to the Judgment of the *Ancients* as our Author did, and got as much Honour by retracting his Errors, as by establishing Truth. But why so much pains to sink the Monk of *Lerins* to raise St. *Austin*? That excellent *Father* wants no Arts of Detraction, no Foil to set him off ; nor will the Monk of *Lerins* be his Foil. For to say with *Dailles*, that he is full of obscure Passages, and inexplicable Ambiguities, is in plain Terms to belye *Vincentius*, as he has done (when it serv'd his Turn) St. *Austin*, and all the *Ancients* ; for as the Monk of *Lerins* had more leisure than the *Bishop* of *Hippo*, so is he clearer and politer by much ; and as he wrote but little, and consider'd much, so has he less questionable Notions and hard Sayings than St. *Austin* has. As to the *Vincentian Objections* so strongly charg'd upon him by *Dailles*, it will be time enough to give an Answer to them, when they are prov'd to be his; the only thing I engage for, is the Book before us, and that I dare say will speak for it self. But who shall assure us, (says this Censor of the Dead) that he was not either a Heretick himself, or at least a Favourer of Hereticks ? Why, this *Commonitory*, and the most famous Writers of his Age. But let me return the Question, who shall assure us that *Dailles* was not a Heretick, an Atheist, or a Deist, or at least a Favourer of such, and therefore not to be minded in any thing he says ? Or I would ask him upon his own Principles, how he can credit *Eusebius Cesariensis*, *Socrates* or *Sozomen*, as to any one Matter of Fact, because the first was suspected of *Semi-Arianism*, and the two last as Favourers of the *Novations* ? Thus it is that some *Moderns* care not what they throw at the *Ancients*, and at the same time don't see how they wound themselves, and every Historian that ever wrote.

ⁿ Quicquid verò, quamvis ille Sanctus, & Doctor, quamvis Episcopus, quamvis Confessor, & Martyr, præter omnes aut etiam contra omnes.

or a Martyr, whoever he be, if he holds any Thing besides, or in opposition to all the rest, that, I say, is to be plac'd in the Rank of singular, secret, and private Opinions only, and never to be look'd upon as the common, publick, general, authoritative Doctrine of the Church; lest to the extreme Hazard of our eternal Salvation, and according to the cursed constant Practice of Hereticks and Schismaticks, we depart from the Truth of the ancient Universal Doctrine, to follow the modern Extravagancies of a single Person.

omnes senserit, &c.] In this Passage our Author is charg'd by his Enemies for girding at St. Austin; and our learned Bishop Taylor is of Opinion, that by his *ubiq; semper, & ab omnibus*, he design'd to reprove that Father; for these are his Words: *For although it is very probable, that Vincentius by this Rule intended to reprove the Novelties and unusual Doctrines which St. Austin by his great Wit and great Reputation had brought into the Church, contrary to the Sentiments and Doctrines of the Fathers which were before him; yet it will perfectly serve to reprove all our late Pretensions to Traditions.* Vid. *Duct. Doubtant.* I. 2. cap. 3. p. 375. Now a Man must have good Eyes to see a single Person particularly aim'd at in a general Rule; and if St. Austin was guilty of some Innovations, Vincentius is highly to be commended for reproving (if he has done it) so good a Man in so gentle a Way. Nor is our Author more particular or severe in his foregoing Reflection; and if the *Episcopus* must be St. Austin, he is treated like a *Bishop*, and St. Austin's Friends must have a great Mind to be angry, if that Passage can anger 'em: But I am verily persuaded that Vincentius did not then think of St. Austin, but of Tertullian, from whom he borrow'd it; for thus he: *Quid ergo, si Episcopus, si Diaconus, si Vidua, si Virgo, si etiam Martyr lapsus à Regula fuerit, ideo Hæreses veritatem videbuntur obtinere? Ex Personis probatus fidem, an ex fide Personas?* Tertull. *præsc. c. 3.*

C H A P. XXXIV.

The great Sin of despising the Catholick Consent of the Holy Fathers, and the Necessity of Church-Communion.

TO preserve the Holy Catholick Consent of the blessed Fathers in its just Authority from the Contempt of some conceited Inno-
1 Cor. cap. 12. v. 28. vators, the Apostle, in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, tells us, that God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, of which Rank he himself was one; Secondarily, Prophets, of this Order was that *Agabus* we read of in the *Acts of the Apostles*; Thirdly, Teachers, who go now by the Name of ^o Tractators and whom the

^o *Dōctores, qui nunc Tractatores appellantur.]* From the first of the Apologies we may learn the Primitive Way of Worship, and see the Reason why the Preachers or *Dōctores* were to be call'd *Tractatores*: For says *Justin Martyr*, *The Reader having done, the President of the Assembly makes a Sermon, by way of Instruction and Exhortation, to the Imitation and Practice of those excellent Things they had heard:* So that these *Sermons* were *Expositions* only of some Portion of Scripture then read to the People, and *Exhortations* to the Belief and Practice of the Duties, of the *Credenda* and *Agenda* therein contain'd; and commonly they were upon the *Lesson* last read, as being freshest in the Peoples Memory. Hence, says *St. Austin, Serm. 237. de Tem. Tom. 10. col. 1116.* *Preachers* came to be call'd *Tractatores*, and their *Sermons* *Tractatus*, because they handled or treated of such Parts of Scripture as had been just before read unto the People. Sometimes there were two or three *Sermons* or *Expositions* one after another in the same Assembly; *Prebyters* expounded first, and then the *Bishop*, according to that in the *Apostolical Constitutions, lib. 2. c. 57. p. 876.* Then (that is, after the reading of the *Gospel*) let the *Presbyters* exhort the People one by one, not all at once; and after all, the *Bishops*, as it is fitting for the Master to do.

same

same Apostle sometimes stiles *Prophets*, from their particular Office of instructing the People in the Mysteries of the Prophets; these several Orders of Men therefore being thus constituted in the Church of God by God himself, at different Times and different Places, whoever, I say, shall despise the unanimous Doctrine of these Men, as to the Sense of any Catholick Article, *despiseth not Man but God*. And for the more effectual preventing of any Separation from that Unity of Faith profess'd in the Communion of the Catholick Church, the same Apostle conjures the Faithful in these pressing Terms: *Now I beseech you, Brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no Divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly join'd together in the same Mind, and in the same Judgment.* And if any one shall dare to separate from this Community of Mind and Judgment, let him consider that of the same Apostle, *God is not the Author of Confusion, but of Peace*; that is, he is not the God of a Dissenter or Separatist from the Catholick Unity of the Church, but the God of those only who preserve the Unity of Faith in the Bond of Peace; *as I teach, (says he) in all the Churches of the Saints*, that is, Catholicks, who are therefore call'd *Saints*, because they persevere in the Communion of the same Faith. And for fear any one shou'd arise to that Pitch of Arrogance, as to Lord it over the rest, and look upon himself as *Infallible*, as the only Person fit to be heard and credited, he puts the Question a little after in these Words:

^{1 Cor. c. 14.} Words : What ² came the Word of God out from you ² or came it unto you only ² And lest any one shou'd think this spoken cursorily, or in haste by the Apostle, he goes on, and says, If any Man think himself to be a Prophet, or Spiritual, let him acknowledge that the Things that I write unto you, are the Commandments of the Lord. And what, I pray, are these Commandments ² but only that whoever is a Prophet, or Spiritual, that is, a Doctor of Spirituals, shou'd promote Humility and Unity with all the Care imaginable ; that he never presume to give his own private Opinions the Precedence before all others, and be sure never to depart from the Sense of the Universal Church.

v. 38. For this Reason it is, that the Apostle adds, If any Man be ignorant of these Commandments, let him be ignorant ; that is, If any Man will either not know his Duty in this Point, or despises it when known, let him be ignorant ; that is, God shall look upon him as unworthy to be number'd among those who are united in Faith and Humility ; than which, a worse Condition, I think, is hardly conceivable ; yet this is the thing that, in compliance with the Apostolick Order, we saw inflicted upon Julian the ^P Pelagian, for neglecting to incor-

^P Quod tamen juxta Apostolicam comminationem Pelagiano illi provenisse cernimus Juliano.] For a full Account of this Heretick, I refer the Reader to Dr. Cave's Hist. Liter. p. 308. and to Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the Fifth Century, Vol. 4. p. 32. 36, 37, 38, &c. Julian was born in Apulia about the Year 386. He had Pelagius, and Theodorus of Mopuesta for his Tutors in Divinity ; he was Deacon under his Father Memor, Bishop of Capua ; and in

incorporate with his Episcopal Colleagues in Point of Doctrine, and for presuming to dismember himself from their Communion.

But 'tis time now, I think, to make good my Promise, and produce the Precedent, when and how the Opinions of the holy Fathers were collected and laid before the Council, as the Order they shou'd proceed by in fixing the Rule of Faith, and passing it into Canon. And for the better Execution of the Design propos'd, I shall here put an End to this Commonitory, and begin the next upon another Topick.

The second Commonitory is lost, and we have now nothing more remaining of it, than the following Recapitulation.

the Year 416, or some time before, he was ordain'd Bishop of *Eclane*, a City situate between *Campania* and *Apulia*, by Pope *Innocent*. In the Popedom of *Zosimus*, he began to defend the Opinions of *Calestius* in his Discourses at *Rome*; and set himself to write against the Doctrine of *St. Austin* concerning Original Sin: The Summ of which was, That Man is absolutely free to do Good or Evil; That to do good he hath need of Grace, but that Grace is never wanting to him; That the Nature of Man is good and perfect; That there is no such Thing as Natural or Original Sin, or by whatever Name else we may please to call it; and lastly, That the just Men under the old Testament, were justify'd by Works, and by Faith in Jesus Christ. *Julian* was condemn'd at length by the Council of *Ephesus*, and all the Proceedings in the *West* against him were confirm'd and ratisfy'd; so that he always remain'd an Excommunicate, and banish'd from *Italy*. He us'd his utmost Endeavours, with all the Arts of Insinuation and Shew of Repentance, to be readmitted into the Church, and recover his Bishoprick, but all in vain; for Pope *Sixtus* or *Xystus*, by the Advice of his Deacon *Leo*, wou'd never hear of admitting him again into the Church. *Vid. Prosp. in Chrenico; Theodosio 17. & Festo Consulibus.*

C H A P. I.

A Summary of what the Author has deliver'd in the First and Second Commonitory.

Having now given you a full View of the Matter, I think it time to recapitulate, and to give you in short, at the End of this Second Commonitory, the Substance of what I have said in Both. I have already observ'd, that it was the constant way of old, and continues to be so to this day amongst the Catholicks, to prove the Orthodoxy of their Faith by these two Rules; *First, by the Authority of the Divine Canon; and Secondly, by the Doctrine of the Catholick Church;* not as if the *Canon of Scripture* was not in it self a sufficient and adequate Rule in all Things necessary to Salvation, but because so many have made bold to interpret the sacred Text according to their own Caprice, and thereby have pester'd the World with such Swarms of Opinions, that Men hardly know what to believe. For this Reason therefore 'tis necessary, *That we shou'd make the Sense of the Church our only Rule to go by for understanding the Sense of Divine Scripture;* in those Articles especially, which are the fundamental Doctrines of the whole Catholick Faith. I have asserted likewise, that in the same Church, *Antiquity and Universality of Consent* are the two Things we ought to have

have a special Regard to, for fear that by breaking off from the whole Body of the Faithful, we join in with the Schism of a Part ; or by falling off from the ancient Religion ; we fall headlong into the Whimsies of modern Hereticks.

And lastly I have said, that in the *Antiquity* of the same Church, two Things are carefully to be observ'd by all such as wou'd avoid the Danger of Heresy ; First, That they entirely adhere to whatever they find to have been antiquitely decreed by the Authority of all the Bishops of the Catholick Church met together in a General Council. Secondly, That in case any new Question arise not determin'd by such a Council, there we are to have Recourse to the Opinions of the holy Fathers ; of those only I mean, who at different Times and in different Places have continu'd stedfast in the Unity of the Faith, and in the Communion of the Church, and were look'd upon as the most approved Doctors of their Age ; and whatever we find to have been unanimously agreed to, and maintain'd by them, to embrace and fix upon that Sense without Scruple, as the true Catholick Sense of the Universal Church.

C H A P. II.

*In Questions of Faith, the safest Recourse
is to the Fathers, this justify'd by the
Practice of the Ephesine Council.*

AND now for fuller Satisfaction, and to shew that I have presum'd to advance nothing of my own Head without the Authority of the Church, I shall lay before you the Example of the Holy Council held about three Years ago in *Asia*, at *Ephesus*, in the Consulship of the renown'd *Bassus* and *Antiochus*. When the *Council* was debating what Method to take in settling Rules of Faith, to prevent such perfidious Practices here, as crept in at ⁹ *Ariminum*, the Bishops, well nigh two hundred in

⁹ *In modum Perfidie Ariminensis.*] There was a Synod held for the *East* at *Selencia*, a City of *Isauria*, call'd the *Sharp*; at the same time this for the *West* was conven'd at *Ariminum*, a City of *Æmilia* in *Italy*. There met at *Ariminum* above 400, about *July*, in the Year 359. *Ursacius* and *Valens*, the two Leaders of the *Arian* Party, propos'd, that the Creed lately drawn up at *Sirmium*, shou'd be receiv'd and settled as the universal Standard or Rule of Faith; That *Consubstantial* was an obscure Term not to be found in Scripture; and that it was much more intelligible, and less offensive to say, *That the Son is in all Things like his Father*. Upon this the *Catholicks* cry'd out, that they came not thither, because they wanted a Form of Faith; that they wou'd confine themselves to the *Nicene* Creed, and admit of no other. This Declaration was unanimously sign'd by all the *Catholick* Party, to which they annexed their *Anathematisms* against the *Arian* Heresy, which are extant at the End of *Hilary's Fragments*. They condemn'd and depos'd likewise *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Auxentius*, *Germinius*, *Caius*, and *Demophilus*, for refusing to subscribe to this Decree. *Socrat.* l. 2. c. 27. *Theod.* l. 2. c. 39. *Soz.* l. 4. c. 18. Matters being thus happily determin'd

in number, assembled together, propos'd it as the most Catholick and happy Expedient, To produce in Publick the Opinions of the Holy Fathers ;

Termin'd at first for the Advantage of the Faith, the Catholicks wrote an Account of their Proceedings to the Emperor *Constantius*, praying against all Innovations, and that all things might continue just as they were settled in the Time of his blessed Father, beseeching likewise that they might return to their several Churches. But *Ursacius* and *Valens*, being too nimble for the Catholick Deputies, got to Court before 'em, and had so prepossess'd the Emperor, that when they arriv'd they cou'd not obtain an Audience, but were order'd to wait till his Return to *Adrianople*, being then marching against the *Perſians*. The Synod not satisfy'd with this, wrote him word again, that they wou'd never recede from what they had done, desiring his Majestv once more to let them return home before the Rigour of the Winter. The Catholick Legates, by good Words and crafty Interpretations, were at length prevail'd on to consent and communicate with the *Arians*; for which, upon their Return, the Synod refus'd them Communion. However, the Synod it self soon after was brought over, all but twenty, of whom *Phebadius* was the chief : These *Taurus* the Governour (who was promis'd a Consulship for his Pains) ply'd with all the passionate Applications imaginable, telling them, that they had now been shut up seven Months in the City, that they were ready to perish for want of Provisions, and with the Severity of the Winter, and that there were no hopes of returning home, without complying with the Emperor's Demands. At length this Expedient was found out, That *Phebadius* and his Party shou'd have the Liberty of adding their Explications to the Confession, wherein they condemn'd *Arius*, and some of his main Propositions. Upon which *Musanus*, Bishop of *Byzacium*, mov'd the Synod that the impious Assertions charg'd upon *Valens*, shou'd be read and censur'd by the Council; which was accordingly done, and *Valens* renounc'd them all, and explain'd himself to the Satisfaction of the Synod. But his Fallacy lay in this Proposition, That the Son of God was not a Creature like the rest of the Creatures, flily inferring, that he was a Creature, tho' in a more sublime and excellent Capacity than the rest. The Synod being thus unhappily ended, *Ursacius* and his Party going for the *East*, staid a while at *Nice*, a City in *Thrace*, and there synodically conven'd, and translated the Creed of *Ariminum* into *Greek*, ratify'd it anew, and declar'd, that this Confession publish'd at *Nice* was drawn up by a General Council, thereby designing to impose it upon weak People for the *Nicene* Faith; but the Imposture was soon discover'd. But tho' the Catholick Fathers were thus barbarously

thers; of which, some were Martyrs, others Confessors, but all such as had been true Catholick Bishops, and eminently continu'd such to their Lives-end: And then it was resolv'd in Council, solemnly to confirm the ancient Faith according to the Sense and Definition of such Fathers, and to Anathematize all impious Innovations.

Now from this fair way of Proceeding, 'tis highly reasonable to conclude, that *Nestorius* was not *hardly used*, but that he was most deservedly condemn'd as an impious Opposer of Catholick Antiquity, and that the blessed *Cyril* was perfectly conformable to it. And to omit no Circumstances which may contribute any Authority to what I have said, I shall give you the Names and Number of those Fathers, whose consonant Opinions and unanimous Judgments the Council follow'd in expounding the Sacred Scripture, and establishing the Rule of Faith; the Order indeed in which those Fathers were read and examin'd in Council, I have forgot; but for the more lasting Impression of the Thing, it will not be amiss here to set down their Names. These then are the Men, whose Writings were produc'd by the Fathers at *Ephesus*, either as Witnesses to confirm the Truth, or Judges to decide it.

roully us'd and trick'd upon, yet were they no sooner got home, but they retracted what they had done, confessing with Tears that they were perfectly over-reach'd, by not suspecting that Men cou'd be *Arians* in their Hearts, when they had so solemnly renounc'd *Arianism* with their Tongues. *Vid. Ep. Sjn. Damas. ap. Theod.* l. 2. c. 22. *Syz.* l. 6. c. 23.

St. Peter,

St. Peter, Bishop of *Alexandria*, a most excellent Doctor, and a most blessed Martyr; St. Athanasius, Bishop of the same City, a most orthodox Master, and as eminent a Confessor; St. Theophilus, Bishop also of the same City, a Man very remarkable both for his Faith, his Life, and his Learning; who was succeeded by the venerable Cyril, the present Ornament of the *Alexandrian Church*. And lest any one shou'd imagine that this was the peculiar Doctrine of one City or Province only, they call'd into their Assistance likewise those shining Lights of *Cappadocia*, St. Gregory of *Nazianzum*, Bishop and Confessor; St. Basil of *Cæsarea*, in *Cappadocia*, Bishop and Confessor; and another St. Gregory likewise, Bishop of *Nyssa*, who upon the Account of his Faith, and the Sweetness of his Conversation, the Integrity of his Life, and the Excellency of his Wisdom, was worthy of such a Brother as the Great *Basil*. And moreover to shew, that not only the *Greek* and *Eastern Church*, but that the *Latin* and *Western* also, were of the same Opinion in this Point, certain Epistles of St. Felix the Martyr, and St. Julius, both Bishops of *Rome*, were read in the Council; and to make it appear farther, that not only the Capital City of the World, but all other Parts of it also gave in their Suffrages for the same Doctrine; the blessed Cyprian, Bishop of *Carthage* and Martyr, is brought in from the South-side, and St. Ambrose, Bishop of *Milan*, from the North, to justify their Proceedings. This then was that sacred Decalogue of Fathers, who presided, as it were,

were, in the *Ephesine Council*, as Masters, Counsellors, Witnesses, and Judges; in conformity to whose Doctrine and Advice, and upon whose Authority and Judgment, that blessed Synod without Delay, without Prejudice, Favour or Affection, rightly decreed concerning the Rules of Faith. Not but that they cou'd have produc'd a much greater number of the Ancients on their side, but they thought it unnecessary, and the Affair requir'd Dispatch; and therefore they wou'd not spin out the Time in examining more Witnesses, especially when no Body question'd but that all the rest of their Episcopal Colleagues were of the same Sentiments with the Ten now mention'd.

To confirm all this, we have subjoin'd the Sentence of the blessed *Cyrill*, which is inserted in the Acts of the same Council. For upon reading the Letter of St. *Capreolus*, Bishop of *Carthage*, in which he express'd his great Concern for Antiquity, and that he wish'd for nothing more than the Extirpation of Novelty; after the reading of this Letter, I say, Bishop *Cyrill*, as President of the Council, thus determin'd; which Determination is to be found at the end of their *Acts*, and which it will not be improper to add in this Place; *Let the Epistle, which has been read to us, of the venerable and very religious Bishop of Carthage, Capreolus, whose Opinion, in this Case, is plain and clear, be inserted in the Decrees of the Council; for he earnestly contends for the Confirmation of the ancient Faith, and wou'd have all novel Inventions introduc'd with Wantonness, and propagated.*

gated with Impiety, to be reprobated and condemn'd.

Upon which arose this general Acclama-
tion amongst the Bishops, *These are the Words
of all, This we all declare, this we all vote for.*
And what was this universal Shout, this gene-
ral Suffrage for, but only to fence in the old
Doctrines, and to keep out new ones? And
now after all; who can forbear admiring and
applauding the Sanctity and Humility of this
Council? That such a multitude of Bishops,
and for the most part *Metropolitans*, and of such
Ability and Learning, that every Man of 'em
almost could have rais'd Disputes upon any
Article, and who, one wou'd have thought,
might have been tempted in such a Body to
define upon their own sole Authority; who,
I say, can forbear admiring, that so many
learned Heads together shou'd offer at nothing
new? That they shou'd presume nothing upon
their own Sufficiency, nor arrogate any thing
to themselves, but be all entirely bent *to deliver
nothing to Posterity but what they had receiv'd
from the Fathers*; and withal, not only to re-
cover Things into a good Condition for the
present, but to transmit also an Example for
the future, what Veneration we ought to have
for the old Doctrines, and what Aversion for
the new.

I have pass'd my Censure likewise upon Ne-
storius for that abominable Presumption of his,
in giving out, *That he was the first and only
Man that ever rightly understood the Sacred Scrip-
ture*; *That all had been under a Cloud, and not
one*

one Divine of what Degree soever had touch'd upon the true Sence, until he arose and made the Discovery; that is to say, all the Bishops, all the Confessors and Martyrs, those who expounded the Word of God, and those who believ'd such Expositions, were all miserably mistaken: And lastly, for asserting, That the universal Church did now, as it had always done, and always would do, follow, as he thought, a parcel of ignorant and erroneous Teachers.

C H A P. III.

The Condemnation of Nestorius farther vindicated.

THO' the Testimonies produced might be abundantly sufficient to confound and abolish all sorts of profane impious Novelties whatever; yet for an Over-weight to all that has been said, I have thought fit to superadd a double Authority from an Apostolick See; the one, of holy Pope Xystus, the present venerable Ornament of the Roman Church; the other, of Pope Celestine his Predecessor of blessed Memory; for that too, if I judge right, may be reasonably interpos'd in this place. Thus then Pope Xystus expresses himself in his Epistle to the Bishop of Antioch, in the Case of Nestorius. Since there-

therefore, as the Apostle says, there is but one Faith, and that one Faith has evidently prevail'd, let us believe what we are to teach, and teach what we are to believe. And what those things are, we must believe and teach, he tells us in these words, *That there is nothing left for Novelty to do, because nothing new is to be added to the ancient Faith; let this ancient Faith then, like a pure Fountain, flow undisturb'd, and be never foul'd with any Mixture of Mud.* Spoke like an Apostle! and the Perspicuity of the Primitive Faith is handsomely set forth by the Clearness of a Fountain, and the Defilements of Novelty as aptly express'd by the Metaphor of Mud.

And with *Xystus* does Pope *Celestine* exactly agree in every Point in his Letter to the Bishops of *France*; wherein he taxes their Lukewarmness, that instead of contending earnestly for the ancient Faith, they deserted it by a criminal Silence, and by such a Conivance gave Encouragement for prophanie Novelties to spring up and grow amongst 'em. In this Letter, I say, the Pope thus delivers himself, *If we by our Silence give our Consent for the Coming in of Error, the Sin lies justly at our Doors; let such Wretches therefore stand corrected, let 'em be no longer tolerated to vent their Extravagances at pleasure.* But here one may put in, and ask, who these Men are that may not be allow'd to speak their Thoughts freely? Are they the Preachers of old, or the Holders-forth of new Doctrine? Let him answer for himself,

himself, and satisfie the Reader from his own Mouth ; for thus it follows, *If it be so*, that is, if it be as some tell me it is in your Cities and Provinces, that by your pernicious Connivance and Dissimulation, your People have been prevail'd upon to dissent from the Church, and take up with some certain new fangl'd Opinions, *If it be so*, says he, *let it be so no more*; *let not Novelty make such Inroads upon Antiquity*, or dare to insult it at the rate it does. This then was the blessed Sentence of the blessed Celestine ; not that *Antiquity* should be remiss and moderate in crushing *Novelty*, but that *Novelty* should not presume to make Head against *Antiquity*. And whoever breaks in upon these Apostolick Catholick Decrees, must first trample upon the Memory of holy Celestine, whose Decree it is, that *Novelty should forbear breaking in upon Antiquity*. And in the next place he must make a Jest of holy Xystus, whose Judgement it is, That *there is nothing left for Novelty to do, because nothing new is to be added to the ancient Faith*. He must reject likewise the Authority of the blessed Cyril, who highly commends the Zeal of the Reverend Capreolus, for standing up in defence of the ancient Articles of Faith, and for condemning new ones. With the like Contempt also he must tread

¹ *Quorum sacrosancta & celestis gratia munere inspirata Consensio, &c.*] Concerning the Authority of General Councils, too much depressed of late by some Writers of Note, I shall only set down the words of our most learned and judicious Bishop Bull, in his Excellent Answer to Monsieur de Meaux. *The Bishop's last Reason* the

tread under Foot the Decrees of the *Ephesine* Council, that is, of almost all the holy Bishops of the Oriental Church, who by the divine Assistance

is, (says he) that I own the infallible Assistance of the Holy Ghost in the Council of Nice, which infers the same Assistance for all others assembled in the same Church. " To which I answer : I mention this indeed as the Opinion of *Socrates*, but at the same time I give another Account of the Credit, that is to be given to the Determination of the *Nicene* Council in the Article of our Saviour's Divinity, in the *Proemium* of my *Defensio Fidei Nicena*, §. 3. where my Words are these. But the same *Socrates*, cap. 9. of the same Book, reproves *Sabinus* for not considering with himself, that they who came to this Council, how illiterate soever they were, yet being enlightened by God, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, could in no wise depart from the Truth. For he seems to have thought the enlightning Grace of God the Holy Ghost always to accompany a General Council of Bishops, and to preserve them from Error, especially in any of the necessary Articles of Faith, which Supposition, if any one shall refuse to admit of *Socrates*'s Argumentation may be thus directed and urged against him. The *Nicene* Fathers, let any imagine them as unskilful and illiterate as he will, yet in the main, were doubtless pious Men. But it is incredible that so many holy and approved Men, assembled from all Parts of the Christian World, (who, how defective soever in any other sort of Knowledge, could by no means be ignorant of the first and fundamental Doctrine of the holy Trinity, a Doctrine wherein the very *Catechumens* were not uninstructed, or of what themselves had receiv'd from their Predecessors concerning it) should wickedly conspire amongst themselves, to new model the Faith receiv'd in the Church, concerning this principal Article of Christianity. And indeed, all these things consider'd and laid together, it was morally impossible that the *Nicene* Fathers should have erred in the Determination of the Article before them. And that they did not actually err, I have sufficiently prov'd in the Bishop's own Judgement in the following Treatise. But suppose I were fully of *Socrates*'s Opinion, concerning the infallible Assistance of the Holy Ghost attending every truly General Council in Matters of Faith, I should be never the nearer to the Church of *Rome*, as it is now subjected to the Decrees of the *Trent* Council ; For as I afterwards add in the same Preface, §. 8. The Assembly of *Trent* is to be called by any other Name, rather than that of a General Council. If then the Council of *Ephesus* was truly General, if it proceeded by the wisest human Methods, which was to have the Book of

God,

Assistance thought good to ordain, that Posterity is to hold nothing as an Article of Faith, but what Antiquity, sacred, and self-agreeing in Jesus Christ, has held forth as such in the Writings of all the holy Fathers; and who have declar'd likewise with one Mouth, with one general Acclamation, that it was the Voice, the Wish, and Judgement of the whole Council, that as almost all Hereticks before *Nestorius* for their Contempt of the old Doctrines, and for setting up of new, have been universally condemn'd; so the like *Anathema* ought to pass against *Nestorius*, as a Broacher of Novelty, and an Enemy to all Christian Antiquity.

Whoever then is offended at this sacred Unanimity of the Fathers in Council, at this divinely-inspir'd Unanimity, what has he else to do but to defend the prophane *Nestorius*, and maintain that an unjust Sentence was pass'd upon him? And when he has run this Length, he must goon and condemn the universal Church of Christ, the Apostles and Prophets the Master-Builders of it, but especially the Apostle *Paul* as

God, and the Books of the most ancient and the most approved Writers of the Church laid before them for their Direction, if God has promis'd to be more particularly present and assisling when two or three are gathered together in his Name, and if a greater Measure of divine Grace may be reasonably suppos'd where the whole Church is assembled in defence of the *Depositum*, and if it be *morally impossible* that such a Body of pious Men should err in the prime fundamental Articles of the Christian Faith, then I think one must be nearly related to *Nestorius*, or have some very uncommon Kindness for him, to arraign the Proceedings of a General Council in Favour of the Person so unanimously condemned by all.

the very Off-scouring of the Earth ; he must condemn the Church, because she has never departed from the Faith once deliver'd to be kept and cultivated inviolably. St. Paul, because of his Charge to *Timothy*, *O, Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy Trust, avoiding prophane and vain Bablings.* And for the Curse also pronounc'd by him, *Whosoever shall preach unto you any other Gospel, than that which ye have receiv'd, let him be accursed.*

Now if the Decrees of the Apostles, and the Canons of the Church, are not to be violated ; and if these by the sacred Consent of universal Antiquity were always the Rules of proceeding against all Hereticks in all times, and by which Rules in this last Age *Pelagius, Celestius, and Nestorius* stand justly and righteously condemned. Then is it unquestionably necessary for all Catholicks hereafter, who study to approve themselves true Sons of their Mother the Church, to stick fast and firm, to live and die in the holy Faith of the holy Fathers ; and to detest, abhor, persue and prosecute the prophane Novelties of prophane Innovators.

These are the things which I have discuss'd more at large in *two Commonitories*, and have now contracted into a narrower compass by way of Recapitulation ; that my own Memory, for whose Assistance I chiefly compos'd 'em, might be continually refresh'd by such short Hints, and not overcharg'd by a cumbersome Prolixity.

F I N I S.

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